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# *Daily Report—*

# **Sub-Saharan Africa**

**FBIS-AFR-89-139**  
**Friday**  
**21 July 1989**

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-89-139

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**African Leaders To Discuss Chad-Libya Conflict**  
*AB1907211589 Bamako Domestic Service in French*  
*1500 GMT 19 Jul 89*

[Text] At the initiative of General Moussa Traore, secretary general of the Mali People's Democratic Union, president of the Republic, and OAU chairman, Brother Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the 1 September Revolution of the great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyyah; and Hissein Habre, founding chairman of the Union for Independence and Revolution, UNIR, and president of the Chadian Republic, have agreed to participate in a summit scheduled to take place in Bamako on 20 and 21 July 1989. El Hadj Omar Bongo, president of the Gabonese Republic and chairman of the OAU ad hoc committee on the Chad-Libya conflict; Chadli Bendjedid, president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria; and General Ibrahim Babangida, president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, will take part in the upcoming meeting.

The main purpose of this meeting is to finalize the reconciliation process between the brotherly peoples of Chad and Libya. This meeting comes only a few days before the 25th OAU summit.

**Chad Confirms Habre To Attend**  
*AB2007130789 Paris AFP in French 1015 GMT*  
*20 Jul 89*

[Text] Paris, 20 Jul (AFP)—N'djamena today confirmed President Hissein Habre's intended 48-hour visit to Bamako during which "an agreed Libya-Chad summit will be held under the auspices of the OAU." A communique from the Chadian presidency published here by the Chadian Embassy explains that General Moussa Traore, the current OAU chairman and Malian head of state, has decided, "in line with the OAU resolutions on the Chad-Libya territorial dispute," to convene that meeting in Bamako "to break the current deadlock in efforts to settle the dispute."

The communique further says: "For its part, the Chadian Government, faithful to a policy of consistency, has always endorsed all efforts by the OAU and its ad hoc committee charged with finding a peaceful and lasting solution to the dispute between the two countries by strictly abiding by OAU and UN principles." It goes on to say: "Chad therefore hopes that the Bamako meeting will provide an opportunity for both parties to finally examine the fundamental issues at the root of this conflict and lay the basis for a lasting and definitive peace."

President Habre, the communique says, will be accompanied notably by Acheikh ibn Oumar, Gouara Lassou, Wadal Abdelkader Kamougue, and Korom Ahmed, the ministers of external relations, agriculture, justice, and state inspectorate and control, respectively.

**Al-Qadhdhafi, Other Leaders Arrive**  
*AB2007160189*

[Editorial Report] Bamako Domestic Service in French at 1510 GMT on 20 July transmits live reportage from Bamako-Senou International Airport on the arrival of the heads of state of Gabon, Chad, and Libya to attend the minisummit on the Chad-Libya conflict. At 1512 GMT, the announcer reports the arrival of Presidents Omar Bongo of Gabon and Hissein Habre of Chad, saying that they did not make any statement to the press.

At 1525 GMT, he reports that the plane of Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi is on the runway. He says that this is the fifth Libyan plane that has landed in Bamako within the last 10 hours and that three planes arrived yesterday bringing about 470 bodyguards. The fourth plane, a Boeing-727, brought about 100 more guards. At 1532 GMT, the reporter says the Libyan leader is exiting his plane and greeting Malian President Moussa Traore and a number of other dignitaries. Al-Qadhdhafi is presented with a calabash of water and a piece of kola nut.

The announcer states that none of the presidents has so far made a press statement. He also points out that Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida is expected to arrive tomorrow at 1500 GMT while President Chadli Bendjedid of Algeria will arrive at 1700 GMT today.

Coverage ends at 1535 GMT.

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## CENTRAL AFRICA

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**Further on Angolan Peace Talks' Resumption**

*AB1907185689 Paris AFP in French 1041 GMT  
19 Jul 89*

[Text] Kinshasa, 19 Jul (AFP)—The peace negotiations between the Angolan Government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) are to resume this afternoon in Kinshasa, and the Zairian mediator, President Mobutu Sese Seko, returned to the capital last night from Gbadolite (northwestern Zaire), it has been learned from a reliable source. This second round of talks—the first round was held in late June in Kinshasa—will deal mainly with the setting up of the cease-fire mechanism which came into force in Angola on 24 June, and which, according to the Angolan Government, UNITA has already violated 59 times, the same source added.

The two delegations, which are led by Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem "Loy" and UNITA's "Minister of Information" Jorge Valentin, respectively, will also examine, at the request of Jonas Savimbi's movement, the establishment of a "national union government" and the holding of "free" elections in Angola, a member of the UNITA delegation stated. This UNITA member reacted sharply to the term "the integration" of his movement into the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] (the sole and ruling party in Luanda), stating: "UNITA has not been defeated on the battleground and will not allow the domination of the present Angolan Government to be imposed on it."

The leader of the Angolan Government delegation who returned to Kinshasa yesterday bringing a "new message" from President Eduardo dos Santos to his Zairian counterpart, seemed to have toned down the accusations he made last Sunday [16 July] about the "repeated violations of the cease-fire by UNITA." "A lot of things have changed since I last came to Zaire," he said on his arrival at the airport. "I believe we can find solutions by exploring all the possibilities offered in the spirit of Gbadolite." While declaring that he was "not pessimistic," the Angolan minister said: "The (peace) process will have to go through a somewhat long period before a complete understanding can be reached of all the problems that will be dealt with in the talks.

**Mobutu Addresses Commission**

*AB2007214089 Kinshasa AZAP in French 1645 GMT  
20 Jul 89*

[Text] Kinshasa, 20 Jul (AZAP)—In his capacity as mediator, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko has called on the Angolan brothers to demonstrate a sense of responsibility so that they use their intelligence and their experience to find solutions that will consolidate the desire for the peace already expressed by both sides.

The mediator designated for the settlement of the Angolan conflict stated this yesterday at the OAU Village at the opening of the tripartite commission in charge of the [words indistinct] composed of representatives of the Luanda government, those of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, and Zairian officials. Speaking at the resumption of these talks, the founding chairman of the Popular Movement of the Revolution stressed the need to make progress on the process for peace and reconciliation [words indistinct] Gbadolite. He emphasized the role which the Angolan brothers must play to achieve this goal. "Forget your quarrels. Drive away the demons of division, hatred, and ambition. Only have in mind the ardent desire for peace and love for your fatherland." Here is the full text of the [words indistinct] at the opening of the deliberations of the commission in charge of observing the cease-fire in Angola:

My dear brothers, 22 May 1989 [as received] was a day of togetherness and hope, it was a historic day for Angola and for Africa. The sons and daughters of Angola on that day demonstrated their determination to renounce war as an expression of their [words indistinct] virtues of dialogue to solve [words indistinct].

I salute here the wisdom and the courage demonstrated by the Angolan leaders who have shown that they can rise above their own interests. I thank them sincerely for renewing their confidence in me [words indistinct], in the Angolan national reconciliation process.

I remind you that on that day, in the presence of 18 heads of state and 2 heads of delegation, in addition to the historic handshake between President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and his countryman Dr Jonas Savimbi, we made important decisions [words indistinct], namely:

- 1.—The cease-fire which was to take effect midnight, 24 June 1989,
- 2.—And the setting up of an ad hoc commission in charge of drafting modalities for the national reconciliation process.

It was agreed that the two Angolan military delegations should meet again in Kinshasa under the chairmanship of the chief of the Zairian Armed Forces General Staff representing the mediator, to begin consultations that would lead to the observance of the cease-fire.

Unfortunately, the talks were suspended shortly after they opened, following some misunderstandings. Today is just as memorable and historic as was 22 June 1989. You are representing your leaders and your people. On you rests the responsibility for the smooth conduct of the process that would lead to one of the (?major) gains of the Gbadolite declaration, namely, the strict observance of the cease-fire, a sine qua non condition for creating a calm and peaceful atmosphere needed to pursue the negotiations that will determine Angola's future. One cannot put the cart before the horse, and the prior achievement of this atmosphere is necessary for smooth

future political talks. This means that you are playing an important role in the success of the process launched in Gbadolite. Forget your quarrels and drive away the demons of division, hatred, and ambition. Bear in mind the ardent desire for peace and love for your fatherland.

As part of this cease-fire observance commission, whose deliberations I am very pleased to open personally, I appeal to your sense of responsibility so that you use all your intelligence and your experience to find solutions that would strengthen your already expressed desire to lay down your arms.

In my capacity as mediator, I suggest that you examine the following points:

- The strengthening of the said commission.
- The need to set up subcommissions in Luanda, Jamba, and of course, Kinshasa, and to provide them with adequate operational means.
- Working conditions for the subcommission members, who should enjoy total immunity commensurate with their mission.

You should also discuss the position of the troops and the fronts, and the need to stop all troop offensives and arms shipments.

In sum, examine together the machinery that will make concrete your desire to replace war with peace. My dear younger brothers, I thought it my duty to draw your attention to the purpose, the magnitude, and the delicate nature of your mission. It is my hope that your deliberations are held in a brotherly and constructive atmosphere that will help consolidate the Gbadolite gains, for the happiness of the Angolan people and African solidarity. I thank you.

**Mobutu Appoints New Economy Minister**  
*AB2007195589 Dakar PANA in French 1900 GMT*  
*20 Jul 89*

[Text] Kinshasa, 20 Jul (AZAP/PANA)—Zairian President Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko today appointed Ndele Bamu minister of national economy and industry under ordinance No 89-160, which he signed on the same day. Mr Ndele, who was governor of the Bank of Zaire, has replaced Selemani Mwana Yile in this post.

**F.W. de Klerk Turns Down U.S. Visit Invitation**  
*MB1907185889 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1833 GMT 19 Jul 89*

[Text] Pretoria July 19 SAPA—National Party leader Mr F.W. de Klerk has turned down an invitation by the U.S. secretary of state, Mr James Baker, for him to visit the United States.

In a statement tonight, the minister of foreign affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said: "It appears that elements within the American Congress are intent on making the visit as controversial as possible.

"Furthermore, Minister de Klerk's programme is already so full as a result of the forthcoming elections, it would be difficult to accommodate such a visit on dates other than those which originally have been put aside for the visit.

"In this light and particularly as Mr de Klerk would like to avoid creating any obstacles to constructive discussion with the United States by undertaking such a visit to the U.S. under controversial circumstances, I have informed Mr Baker that it would not advance the good relations existing between the two countries, for the visit to take place before the forthcoming elections.

"I have conveyed my own thanks and that of Minister de Klerk to Mr Baker for the kind invitation and I trust that Secretary of State Baker fully appreciates the circumstances which have given rise to this decision."

**Bush Delay on De Klerk Talks Invitation 'Galling'**  
*MB1307091089 Johannesburg THE CITIZEN  
in English 13 Jul 89 p 6*

[Editorial]

[Text] The delay in announcing whether President George Bush is to have talks with National Party leader, Mr F.W. de Klerk, is galling. Mr de Klerk is to be the next President. His ruling National Party determines policy in South Africa. Nothing that can happen will be done without its say-so.

If Mr Bush wants to know what kind of man Mr de Klerk is, and what kind of policy he is going to follow, it is vitally important that he meets Mr de Klerk face to face.

The British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, found her talks with Mr de Klerk encouraging.

We have no doubt President Bush would also be encouraged by talks with Mr de Klerk.

There is no earthly reason why President Bush shouldn't invite him.

Especially since President Bush has received the Archbishop of Sanctions and Disinvestment, Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and Dr Beyers Naude.

Especially since he has received Mrs Albertina Sisulu, co-president of the UDF [United Democratic Front] and wife of jailed ANC [African National Congress] leader, Walter Sisulu, and a UDF delegation.

If President Bush does not invite Mr de Klerk, he will be telling us that he prefers holding talks with the political priests and radicals but not with the leader of South Africa's ruling party.

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, says the Bush administration has indicated its willingness to help in South Africa by receiving leaders such as Archbishop Tutu and Mrs Sisulu, while others will be given a similar opportunity.

If the others include Mr de Klerk, why not say so?

If they do not include Mr de Klerk, then we will know that the Bush administration leans heavily towards the dissidents and radicals and is downgrading the legally constituted government of South Africa.

The trouble is that Mr Bush is trying to achieve a bipartisan policy in Congress on foreign policy, including South Africa.

Receiving Mr de Klerk will not, in the view of his advisers, be politically gainful for him.

So what! South Africa should not be sacrificed on the altar of U.S. domestic politics.

While President Bush shilly-shallies, more than 50 House of Representatives Democrats have sent a letter to him saying there should be no meeting with Mr de Klerk until the South African Government releases all political prisoners, terminates the states of emergency, eases restrictions on leaders of extra-parliamentary organisations and unbans all political organizations.

A meeting "without any significant political change by the White minority regime would send a terribly wrong signal concerning the direction of U.S. policy under the Bush administration", the letter says.

The letter is co-sponsored by Rep William H. Gray, Rep Ronald Dellums and Rep Howard Wolpe, who were responsible for the present vicious U.S. sanctions against South Africa and who are demanding more severe measures.

Although some reports suggest the De Klerk meeting with President Bush is on, one should not underestimate the pressures of the Democratic lobbying against it.

## REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

During their visits to Washington, Tutu and Co. and the UDF delegation also urged a wide range of Washington leaders not to allow a visit by Mr de Klerk until the South African Government offered something to deserve such an honour.

So far, Mr de Klerk has been invited only to meet the Secretary of State, Mr James Baker.

However, if President Bush does not see Mr de Klerk after seeing the political priests and radicals, it will be a kick in the teeth for the South African Nationalist leader and the government.

If that happens, we advise Mr de Klerk not to go to Washington.

Meanwhile, the U.S. President should stop beating about the Bush and announce what he intends to do.

At least we will then know where we stand with him and his administration.

**Commentary on 'Successful' De Klerk Maputo Visit**  
*MB2107055089 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 0500 GMT 21 Jul 89*

[Station commentary]

[Text] The extended 3-hour meeting between the leader of the National Party, Mr F.W. de Klerk, and President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique has been hailed by both sides as significant and successful. President Chissano even went as far as foreseeing that South Africa could be welcomed as a full member of the southern African community of nations.

Of even greater significance than the meeting itself, however, is the new and hopeful southern African political climate in which it took place. In essence, Mr de Klerk's Maputo talks were a follow-up to the earlier visits to Mozambique and other southern African countries by State President P.W. Botha and the minister of foreign affairs when a Marshall Plan for southern Africa was first mooted by the South Africans. Then, as in Wednesday's [19 July] talks, the various conflict situations in southern African countries and a reaffirmation of the principles of the Nkomati Accord were discussed. Superficially, the attitudes and expectations engendered by Mr de Klerk's visits abroad and his pronouncements since being elected leader of the National Party on his vision of domestic political and constitutional development, are similar to those which prevailed when President Botha initiated his domestic reforms, signed the Nkomati Accord, and met African and European leaders. What has changed significantly is the greater readiness to accept South Africa's good faith, a growing realization at home and abroad that negotiated settlements have a far greater potential for producing results than continued confrontation, as well as a willingness to emphasize common ground rather than points of difference.

Previously, South Africa's relations in southern Africa and further afield tended to be characterized by a great deal of suspicion, that the government was less than sincere about real domestic reform, about bringing South-West Africa/Namibia to independence, and about not aiding Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] or destabilizing the southern African region. Several important developments have aided the change of climate, including the constructive role played by South Africa in bringing about the peace accords for southwestern Africa, her impeccable behavior in implementing the independence plan in South-West Africa/Namibia, and President Botha's meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela.

There is ample evidence of the new climate. It is perceptible in the favorable response Mr de Klerk has elicited from people like Mrs Thatcher, Chancellor Kohl, and Mr Herman Cohen; in President Kaunda's renewed statement that he is anxious to talk to Mr de Klerk at any time; and in the declarations by Mr de Klerk and President Chissano that they want to play a positive role in one another's countries.

Especially noteworthy in this context is Mr Chissano's public acknowledgement that the South African Government is not aiding Renamo and Mr de Klerk's unequivocal message to Renamo to end violence and negotiate. New windows of opportunity for political, economic, and social cooperation and development are clearly opening for southern African. About those concerned being fully aware of this, there can be little doubt.

**De Klerk-Chissano Talks, Regional Summit Viewed**  
*MB1307103589 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English  
13 Jul 89 pp 1, 2*

[By Mike Robertson]

[Text] NP [National Party] leader F.W. de Klerk will hold talks with Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano in Maputo on July 19, which could be a prelude to a regional summit of southern African leaders.

The Department of Foreign Affairs confirmed the Maputo meeting last night and said Foreign Minister Pik Botha would accompany De Klerk.

The visit would be a precursor to a summit of southern African leaders, former deputy director general of Foreign Affairs Glenn Babb said yesterday.

Babb, who is standing for the NP in Randburg in the general election, has been involved in all recent preparatory work to bring about regional rapprochement.

Babb said the meeting with Chissano was important as Chissano would have a crucial role to play in persuading Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe to agree to a regional conference.

"Chissano is an important player. I was in Zaire when the Angolan peace discussions took place and he played a big role in getting the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] to come together."

Babb predicted that after November 1 either Chissano or Kaunda would convene a regional conference—with SA [South Africa] present.

Counties represented at the conference would include SA, Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho.

Mugabe, he said, was the only southern African leader at this stage opposed to the convening of a conference, which would aim to develop a united southern African bloc to deal, in particular, with Europe after 1992.

The conference would also have as an aim developing regional co-operation to a point where southern African states could play a positive role in influencing the internal situation in SA.

They could do this by trying to persuade opposition groups like the ANC [African National Congress] to adopt a "reasonable" attitude to negotiations.

With the exception of Mugabe, Babb said, there was strong support from African leaders for regional economic cooperation.

There was vast scope for co-operation in electricity supply and the re-routing of railways, and African leaders had already expressed interest in this regard.

But regional co-operation did not just cover economic terrain. There were enormous advantages in the political arena and the southern African leaders were looking to De Klerk to take the lead in this respect.

SA, he said, would have great difficulty in dealing with a united Europe after 1992. Referring to the more closed market Europe would then present, Babb said SA needed to take the rest of the sub-continent with it. The southern African states would be treated as poor relations in terms of the Lome Convention.

Together, however, southern Africa with SA's economic muscle, would constitute a powerful enough force to negotiate a fair deal with the EEC.

SA, he said, did not have the finances to give large scale assistance to Mozambique, but it had given the private sector "a lot of facility" to get involved.

Our Political Staff reports from Harare that SA and Mozambique are expected to establish full diplomatic relations before the end of the year. This is the view of the former Beira Corridor Project MD [managing director] Eddie Cross.

In a wide ranging talk on the situation in the southern African region, Cross stated that:

- UNITA's Jonas Savimbi would dominate a government of national unity in Angola;
- SA's arms exports to Mozambique were bigger than the Soviet Union's, and;
- Seven of the nine SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference] countries had either economic, diplomatic or military links with SA.

Citing sources in Mozambique, he said the delay in the establishment of relations between SA and Mozambique was caused by the desire of the Mozambican government to resolve its conflict with Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] before entering into a formal diplomatic situation.

**Mandela-P.W. Botha Talks Prove 'Contest'**  
MB1907133589 Johannesburg *THE STAR* in English  
19 Jul 89 p 14

[“Great ‘Contest Between Two Cunning Old Bulls’” by Patrick Laurence; from the editorial page]

[Text] The recent meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and President P.W. Botha was seen by one political observer as a “contest between two cunning old bulls.” And as the dust settles on that initial and historic contact in Mr Botha’s office in Cape Town a fortnight ago, a fascinating question arises: Who outmanoeuvred whom?

Sifting through the statements and reactions to the Mandela-Botha talks, a curious point emerges: those closest to the ANC [African National Congress] leader ideologically seem to fear most that he may have been lured into a trap and that his status as prisoner may have put him at too great a disadvantage in the ensuing battle of wits.

Thus, immediately after news of the meeting broke, the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, described the meeting as a stratagem devised “by the ruling minority to sow confusion in the minds of black people and the outside world”.

The statement, issued on behalf of the Mandela family and community leaders in Soweto, has a defensive tone; it stresses no significance should be attached to a meeting taking place in the “context of a prisoner and his captors”.

The possibility that Mr Mandela may have used the meeting to his own advantage—and to that of the “people’s movement” as he refers to the ANC—does not seem to have been considered.

The ANC itself was similarly careful to downplay the importance of talks, as if it, too, feared that the Government rather than Mr Mandela would make political capital out of the meeting.

It dismissed the talks as a "public relations exercise" designed to appeal white voters in the election and to impress world opinion.

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) sounded a cautionary note in its statement; it warned that the Mandela-Botha talks had to be seen in the context of the ongoing police investigation into the death of the young black activist, Stompie Mkhetsi.

Deep suspicion about Government motives apart, the SACC's counsel of caution was prompted by two specific developments.

The first was a radio report on the Government-controlled SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] that a police dossier linking Mrs Winnie Mandela to the death of 14-year-old Stompie had been handed to the Attorney-General.

The second was the news that police had raided Mr Mandela's original Soweto home (presumably as part of their investigation into Stompie's death) while the ANC leader was talking to Mr Botha.

It was against that background that the SACC warned: "It is our view that the Government has an ace up its sleeve—namely the Stompie issue."

But Mr Mandela himself was not without cards—to extend the SACC's metaphor—in his exchange with Mr Botha.

Mrs Helen Suzman, who visited Mr Mandela shortly after his meeting with Mr Botha, says: "Don't underestimate him."

Assessing the situation, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who has done more than anyone else to promote dialogue with the ANC, says: "I haven't the slightest doubt that the ANC has gained enormously."

Dr Slabbert draws attention to the vast sums of money spent by Mr Botha in his decade-long propaganda campaign depicting the ANC as part of a communist-inspired total onslaught.

He concludes: "Now he (Mr Botha) ends up saying, I wasted it all. Come and have a cup of tea."

Mr Mandela's statement on the meeting suggests, on close reading, a man who is choosing his words carefully and seeking to turn the situation to his advantage.

Professor David Welsh of the University of Cape Town wonders whether the talks were not part of a wider Government strategy to drive a wedge between the internal and external wings of the ANC by manoeuvring Mr Mandela into "rejecting armed struggle".

Mr Mandela's statement, however, makes it clear that his position has not changed "over the past 28 years".

The phrase "over the past 28 years" is not coincidental. The ANC's armed struggle began 28 years ago, when, in 1961, as a sequel to its banning its underground army Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation] launched its first sabotage attacks.

Reading between the lines, Mr Mandela appears to be saying he still endorses armed struggle—he was one of Umkhonto's original commanders—and will continue to do so until, and unless, the banning of the ANC is lifted.

Any doubt over Mr Mandela's meaning is removed by his clarifying point: "...dialogue with the mass democratic movement and, in particular, the ANC is the only way of ending the violence and bringing peace to our country".

Later on he says: "I would like to confirm that my release is not an issue at this stage."

He seems to be saying he is not a supplicant begging for his freedom.

Mr Mandela comes across as a man who knows his own mind; one who is coolly aware of his aims and who, at the age of 71 and after 27 years in jail, is determined to pursue them with all his being.

**Mandela Family Comments on Prison Visit**  
*MB1807171189 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
*1637 GMT 18 Jul 89*

[Text] Paarl July 18 SAPA—The top structure of the NP [National Party] and party leader Mr F.W. de Klerk was aware of the meeting between State President Mr P.W. Botha and imprisoned ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela in Cape Town on July 5.

This was claimed by Mrs Winnie Mandela after a six hour visit to her husband at Victor Verster Prison outside Paarl today.

Mrs Mandela, and a group of about 20 close relatives, celebrated Mr Mandela's 71st birthday in Mr Mandela's house on the prison grounds today. In a disorganized press conference outside the prison grounds she said her husband could not send any political messages because he is still a prisoner.

Asked whether the family discussed Mr Mandela's meeting with the state president, she stressed that it was a family meeting and that politics was not discussed. She

did say, however, that the NP and Mr De Klerk were aware of her husband's meeting with the state president, although both have seemed to ignore this meeting.

She said Mr Mandela was "in perfect health" but still a prisoner. It was no day for rejoicing although it was his birthday, but it was "a wonderful day for the children".

"For the first time in 28 years we could spend more than the regulation 45 minutes with our comrade, father. It was a wonderful family reunion", Mrs Mandela said.

She said he sent his love to all those outside the prison. She said he was "in full contact with the leaders of the ANC and other leaders behind bars".

Asked whether she was more optimistic, after the meeting, that his release was imminent she replied "not at all".

"The realities of the political climate do not favour his release this year. On his personal agenda his release will be the last item. What is more important to him is that his ideals and ideas be freely shared by all. He wants freedom for his political views", she said.

She said he had asked for more freedom to discuss matters with the leaders of the day and would also like to have more contact with trade union leaders.

Mr Makgatho Mandela, a son out of his first marriage, who last saw his father in December 1987, said Mr Mandela has not changed much. "It was wonderful to share his thoughts again".

His 15-year-old grandson Mandla, who travelled all the way from Swaziland for the meeting, said his father was "absolutely delighted to see us all and we are hoping to have another family reunion soon".

Mr Mandela's daughter Maki, who last saw him four years ago, said her father would be lonely, but consoled tonight.

"He will be lonely, but he will be happy that he saw us all. It will carry him through, although he stays in his own house is still a prisoner and we would like to see him free very soon".

Advocate and family friend Mr Duiyah Omar said the bottom line was: "Free Nelson Mandela...unconditionally".

BUSINESS DAY Carries ANC 'Discussion Paper'  
*MB2007154589 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY  
in English 20 Jul 89 p 8*

[First paragraph newspaper introduction]

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress], worried that it may be caught off guard by a sudden move to negotiate in SA [South Africa], has decided to prepare for negotiations. BUSINESS DAY publishes the text of the ANC discussion paper as a contribution to the developing debate.

1. Once more the question of a negotiated settlement of the SA question is being raised with growing insistence. It is therefore necessary that the ANC and the democratic movement as a whole should discuss this issue in order to arrive at a common view.

2. Various factors in world politics have brought this matter to the fore. Internationally, there is a tendency towards detente and relaxation of tensions. This process is accompanied by serious efforts to resolve outstanding problems through negotiations.

3. In addition to the issues of nuclear disarmament and the reduction of conventional forces that are subjects of negotiation by the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, efforts are also being made to address the matter of regional conflicts. This process has, in varying degrees, affected such areas as Central America, Western Sahara, the Middle East, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Sudan, Ethiopia and south western Africa.

4. The Pretoria regime has participated in the negotiations concerning south western Africa and is party to the execution of the agreements arrived at, which involve the withdrawal of the SA army of occupation and the Cuban internationalist forces from the People's Republic of Angola as well as the implementation of the UN plan for the independence of Namibia. The fact of these agreements is wrongly viewed by many sectors in world politics as proof that the SA regime is committed to the resolution of conflict by negotiation.

5. These sectors also view the change of leadership in the National Party, with F.W. de Klerk replacing P.W. Botha, as signaling the possibility of a change of policy as a result of which the Pretoria regime would enter into negotiations to end the apartheid system. Furthermore, to encourage this view, leading spokespersons of this regime have been making various statements suggesting that they are ready to enter into negotiations to end the system of white domination.

6. There is also recognition of the fact that the apartheid system is immersed in a deepening political and economic crisis from which it cannot extricate itself. The

assumption is therefore made that these objective conditions themselves oblige the Pretoria regime to seek a way out through negotiations with the genuine representatives of the people of SA.

7. It is in the light of this overall international, regional and national situation that various forces raise the matter of a negotiated resolution of the SA question as an issue that should be put on the agenda now. The new U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen, has stated publicly that during his tenure of office he will pay attention to the question. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is engaged in a series of discussions with apartheid Cabinet ministers with the same objective in mind. Even the Chairman of the Frontline States, President Kaunda, has called for negotiations now, which could possibly include a reconstituted Eminent Persons Group which would work with the Frontline States. The European Community countries have publicly rejected calls by the Frontline States to impose new sanctions against apartheid SA, arguing that F.W. de Klerk should be given a chance.

8. The reality we face, therefore, is that all manner of forces, both within our country and internationally, will be taking various initiatives on the issue of negotiations. These initiatives will among other things, seek to set parameters for such negotiations, including such questions as the aim of the negotiations and who should sit around the negotiating table. For example, Mrs Thatcher has already said that the principle of one person one vote should be applied in such a manner as recognises the existence of "groups". She has gone on to say the Pretoria regime would have to negotiate with the leaders of all groups. In this context, she has specifically mentioned such people as Gatsha Buthelezi. It is clear that the British government will seek to propagate these views throughout the world and seek their acceptance by the largest possible number of countries, to the exclusion of views that might emanate from the ANC and the democratic movement of our country.

9. It has, however, always been our view that the resolution of the SA question is, first and foremost, the responsibility of the people of SA, supported by the international community. In this regard it is therefore clear that it should be the people of SA who set the parameters for any process of negotiations affecting our country.

10. Already in October 1987, the National Executive Committee of the ANC put out a statement on the issue of negotiations. Among other things, that statement spelt out what the apartheid regime would have to do to create a climate conducive to negotiations, including the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of organisations, the withdrawal of troops from the townships and ending the state of emergency. It stated that the aim of negotiations should be to transform SA into a united,

democratic and non-racial country. It addressed other questions, such as the termination of the armed conflict and the duration of the negotiations.

11. The question that has now arisen is whether there is a need to have a look at this statement with a view to its expansion by the incorporation of other elements.

12. This is particularly important in the light of what we have stated above, that various forces internationally are working on detailed plans concerning the issue of a negotiated settlement of the SA question. It should also be expected that the Pretoria regime itself is involved in discussion further to elaborate its negotiating plan, which has always pursued the objective of co-opting the oppressed so that they act as partners in the perpetuation of the system of white minority domination.

13. Among others, the regime has already addressed the question of the preconditions for negotiating by insisting that the ANC must, first of all, renounce the armed struggle and prove over a period of time that it has indeed abandoned this form of struggle. It has stated that the aim of the negotiations should be to produce an arrangement whereby, according to the language of the regime, no group dominates the other. It has passed legislation enabling it to create its negotiating mechanism, which it calls a National Council. This scheme visualises that the apartheid State President would preside over this process as a "neutral" person and that any agreement arrived at by this council would have to be endorsed by the apartheid tri-cameral Parliament. The regime is looking at these and other elements of its "negotiating" strategy to take the initiative into its hands by ensuring that its sets the agenda for negotiations.

14. As a revolutionary movement, it is however our task and responsibility that we should, at all times, keep the initiative in our hands, particularly with regard to strategic questions. The issue facing us is how to keep the initiative in our hands on this strategic matter of negotiations. What positions should we elaborate to ensure that it is our opponent who is forced to respond to us and not the other way around? Clearly, as a revolutionary movement, we cannot afford to tail behind the regime and allow ourselves to fall into a defensive posture, with the regime maintaining the offensive.

15. Part of the answer to this question must be that we ourselves should elaborate our positions on various questions concerning negotiations and set the agenda on this issue so that we give no opportunity to the apartheid regime and its international allies to impose on us and the people a process that would be designed to safeguard the interests of the racist minority.

16. In this context we would therefore have to address such issues as the aim of any negotiations, the preconditions for genuine negotiations, the nature of the mechanisms for negotiations, and therefore the question who

would sit at the negotiating table, the cessation of hostilities by both sides, the possibility of the formation of a transitional government, the duration of the negotiations and the role of the international community in any negotiated resolution of the SA question.

17. Discussion of the whole question of negotiations in no way affects, and should not affect, the overall strategic operation of our movement and the tasks that arise from that orientation. Our strategic task is the destruction of the apartheid regime and the transfer of power to the people. This we seek to achieve through mass political action, armed struggle, the international isolation of the apartheid system and by ensuring that the ANC plays its proper role as the revolutionary vanguard of our struggling people.

18. The issue of negotiations has arisen precisely because of the advances we have made on all these fronts which have led to the emergence of the crisis of the apartheid system to which we have referred. We must continuously intensify our offensive on all these fronts with the sole aim of transforming SA into a united, democratic and nonracial SA. At the same time, we must be ready to deal with all consequences of our victories. One of these consequences may be, as has been the case in all the countries of Southern Africa where the liberation movements took up arms, that at a certain point the enemy might decide that it is ready to talk seriously.

19. We must therefore treat the issue of negotiations as one that also involves struggle, a struggle by other means and a struggle that is a continuation of our offensive for the fundamental transformation of our country. Such positions as may emerge in the course of our discussions should therefore be such that they strengthen our overall offensive and defeat all attempts to disarm us and immobilise the people.

**'Five Freedoms Forum' Discusses ANC Talks**  
*MB1907235989 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
*2245 GMT 19 Jul 89*

[Text] Johannesburg July 19 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress] was committed to working towards a cessation of hostilities, a spokesman for the Five Freedoms Forum, deputy vice-chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, Prof Mervin Shear said tonight. Speaking at a report-back meeting after the recent Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) conference with the ANC in Lusaka he said the ANC had indicated that most members of its military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe [Spear of the Nation], led peaceful lives and would like to surrender violence.

The ANC had said it resorted to violence as a strategy and not on principle and said the armed struggle was not conducted in a random manner.

Prof Shear said the ANC's National Executive Committee had issued a document expressing concern about attacks on civilian targets. The committee said it knew details of the targets, but some incidents ascribed to the ANC were committed by it. The blasts in Wimpy bars last year, and necklacing, did not follow ANC policy and had consequently been stopped.

The committee condemned the governments efforts to hide its (the ANC's) position on the armed struggle. The ANC had to be seen as an organising force without which there would be chaos and anarchy.

The ANC delegation called on the South African Government to renounce its own form of violence, such as paramilitary presence in the townships.

During talks on sanctions, the ANC delegation said it supported further investigations into the possibility of targeted sanctions. However, it reiterated the view that it was still committed to comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

The ANC delegation, consisting of over 90 people, said that business had benefitted from apartheid because of its bad record of distribution of wealth.

The ANC had indicated that it accepted the principle of a multi-party state as long as it was based on "one person one vote in a unitary state".

The ANC encouraged the need for constructive foreign intervention by providing education and housing for black South Africans.

It also called on the local business sector to develop an alliance with the mass democratic movement.

It said the business sector should deracialise the labour process, refuse to pay salaries to employees serving in the SADF [South African Defence Force], and should campaign for the release of political prisoners. The delegation stressed the ANC had no intention of closing down private business, and supported the growth of more black business.

Commenting on South African parliamentary politics, the ANC said white democratic politicians could play a role in mobilising public opinion. The ANC would not be calling whites to vote in the upcoming election—nor would it be calling for a boycott of the House of Representatives and House of Delegates.

The involvement of coloureds and Indians in Parliament was detrimental to non-racialism.

The ANC said it was necessary for parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups to work together against the Group Areas Act and Separate Amenities Act.

On negotiations with the SA [South African] Government, the ANC said it was not possible for these to take place if anti-apartheid organisations were banned.

It also called for SADF and paramilitary forces to leave the townships, and demanded a lifting of the state of emergency.

**DP Delegation To Visit Angola, Mozambique**  
*MB1707110189 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY  
in English 17 Jul 89 pp 1, 2)*

[By Edyth Bulbring]

[Text] A DP [Democratic Party] delegation will meet Angolan government members in Luanda today and is expected to meet Mozambique government representatives in Maputo before returning to SA [South Africa] tomorrow.

Delegation leader and DP co-leader Wynand Malan confirmed from Lusaka yesterday that the delegation would meet the Angolan government today. He could not confirm if Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos would be present, but sources said he was expected to be.

Malan would not confirm if the party would proceed to Maputo for talks with President Joaquim Chissano and members of his government, but DP sources said the delegation was expected there.

The delegation met the ANC [African National Congress] and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda at the weekend. Malan described the talks with Kaunda as "excellent".

Kaunda indicated a willingness to meet NP [National Party] leader F.W. de Klerk. He told Malan he would "size up" De Klerk and if he got a positive response he would even be prepared to meet De Klerk again in Pretoria.

Malan said it was agreed stability in the southern African region could be achieved only by understanding and communication.

The delegation discussed the DP's vision and explained its aim to promote interaction among all political organisations. "Whatever happens in general election and whatever government emerges, contact with that government will have to be continued and promoted," Malan said.

The two parties agreed that unless the southern African states "got their houses in order", Western investment could go to Eastern bloc countries in the light of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's initiatives and glasnost policy.

This could jeopardise economic development and much-needed capital investment in the southern African region, Malan said.

It was agreed heads of the Frontline states could play a major role in stabilising the southern African region and needed to promote the concept of talking, with a view to negotiation, he said.

It was also agreed talks should be held without preconditions being met so that preconditions, regarded as obstacles to negotiations, could be resolved by talking.

Kaunda felt very strongly there was potential for a volcanic eruption in SA because of the NP government's apartheid policy, Malan said.

The DP conveyed the message there was fluidity in SA politics and a window of opportunity was opening for real political progress provided all political parties could communicate.

It is believed the DP delegation hoped to convey the same message to the Angolan and Mozambique governments.

Malan said the ANC, with whom they spoke for seven hours, was becoming more flexible and aware of the need for new initiatives, but he would not elaborate on this.

**NP 'Tip-Toeing' Through Elections**  
*MB1707080189 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR  
in English 16 Jul 89 p 4*

[By John MacLennan]

[Text] The National Party [NP] is tip-toeing its way through the toughest election it has had to fight in more than four decades.

This has made for the most low-key party campaign since it came to power in 1948.

Election watchers are now wondering whether the thunderous silence is part of deliberate strategy, or if it reflects the NP's realisation that it cannot maintain its position either on past performance or vague promises of a new tomorrow.

Never has the NP had to ask for the support of an electorate quite so angry and disillusioned, and never has its larder been quite so bare. The party's five-year action plan is full of good intentions—but has no real answers on how it plans to "protect" white voters.

The Government has already handed out cash election lollies to people such as pensioners, farmers and public servants.

Other than vilifying its opponents—the DP [Democratic Party] is a hand-over party, the right-wing is mad and bad—there are only two cards left for the NP to play.

They are new leader Mr F.W. de Klerk and the possibility of a negotiating breakthrough involving Nelson Mandela.

These figures are likely to find themselves locked into a political version of volkspele [folk dances] which will test the NP's credibility and holds the potential of catapulting it into its next term as a real party of reform.

It is this potential which is likely to emerge in the last three weeks of the campaign as the major weapon in Mr de Klerk's arsenal. It has already given him entree to some of the most important Western leaders, it has astonished the Government's enemies and could stop the drift to the DP.

But it is also a weapon which could backfire and cost the party dearly, for negotiations with the ANC [African National Congress] spells suicide in the eyes of its rightist supporters.

Mr de Klerk and the Government will also have to trust that they are not being led into a dance with Mandela and that he really meant what he said about peace over a cup of tea at Tuynhuys and in his subsequent statement.

Indications are that the Mandela-Botha meeting was not meant to leak so soon before the election, if at all. The Cabinet as a whole knew nothing about it, nor did some important party strategists.

Now that the news has come out the NP will want to do some quiet voter preparation and some fine-tuning of this emotive issue, before using it as important evidence in the last few weeks of the campaign that it is the party which can bring about reform.

Until then the Government will allow its opponents to keep on lashing out, apparently with impunity. One senior party source said: "When we start fighting, the opposition will have used up all their ammunition."

According to the DP's Mr Colin Eglin: "The NP is now a party in the middle and it is at its position. For 41 years the NP has been an upfront political party.

"I didn't like what they were doing but at least I knew where they stood. Now they are involved in a deliberate strategy of downplaying specifics.

"They could have got away with it if the economy was good, if there was good rapport with the people and if they had a high profile of credibility.

"But they're running down the economy and they are low on credibility and the most recent polls reflect this.

"They are planning to win this election not through leadership, but by stealth."

Professor Alf Stadler, head of political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, holds that Mr de Klerk and the NP are suffering from pre-election inertia.

"If he moves in either direction he will be clobbered. He is being forced to tip-toe past the election without committing himself to any direction.

"He wants to go into October with the parliamentary support he has now and he can only do that by playing it cool and quiet.

"He is going to try to avoid committing himself to positions now being marked out by the DP or the CP [Conservative Party], and nothing will emerge with clarity until after the election, when things will move very fast.

"This is based on expectations now being fuelled by the NP."

Stellenbosch University's Professor Hennie Kotze contrasted the NP's comparative silence so far with the four-month war of words which preceded the last election.

But he warned that it was still early days because the weapon of TV had not yet been applied.

"People are already fed up with the NP line ... so they are letting the other parties do the running and plan to come in for a killing later on."

Mr Koos van der Merwe, the CP's chief information officer, said the NP was working very hard behind the scenes, but its feedback showed it was ineffective: "Our information is they're finding Mr de Klerk a dud. They can't sell him.

"The voters don't believe he has a real vision and they are starting to see through the glittering generalities.

"That is why the DP is making good progress, because it has a sincere and honest alternative for the leftist voter.

"The CP also has a credible plan, whether you like it or not. The NP is sitting in the middle; it has never been in such a position because people don't trust it either to protect the white voter or come up with a constitutional model that works."

**NP May Lose 23 Seats in 6 Sep Election**  
*MB1707115889 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES  
in English 16 Jul 89 p 2*

[By Lester Venter]

[Text] Three-cornered fights in the September elections could lose the National Party [NP] up to 23 seats to either the left or the right.

Nine of these could go to the Democratic Party [DP] and 14 to the Conservative Party [CP].

These startling figures emerge from a survey of the standings of the parties on the basis of the 1987 elections.

Both the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party are standing in seats they cannot win, but their presence there will blunt the Government's edge and could give the seat to the major opposition contender.

In some cases the tactic is deliberate. The CP is standing in constituencies such as Umhlanga and Edenvale with the stated intent of bolstering the DP's chances of winning the seats from the NP.

This would happen by the CP drawing off rightwing voters who would otherwise have voted for the NP.

The DP has denied it is deliberately acting as a "spoiler". A senior official said a decision had been taken not to do so, but where constituencies asked for a candidate, one was put up.

Two top government figures who are hugely relieved at the DP's decision not to stand in their constituencies are the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Leon Wessels (Krugersdorp), and the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen (Vanderbijlpark).

Mr Wessels squeaked past the CP by only 55 votes in 1987. A DP presence there would almost certainly have put him out of politics after the election.

Dr Viljoen's more comfortable majority of 2,346 could, however, be about the tally a DP candidate would pull from the constituency's 25,500 voters.

A senior government man who does face defeat by the CP because of the presence of the DP is Mr Sam de Beer, the Deputy Minister of Education and Training.

In his Geduld seat he had a majority of 1,623 over the CP in 1987.

Many other Nationalist MP's are in the same position.

NP seats that could fall to the CP by losing votes to the DP are Alberton, Boksburg, Brentwood, Geduld, Germiston, Germiston District, Kempton Park, Klerksdorp, Koedoespoort, Nelspruit, Rissik, Springs and Vereeniging.

NP seats that could, in the same way, go to the DP because of the CP presence are Hillbrow, Bezuidenhout, Edenvale, North Rand, Amanzimtoti, Durban Point, Pietermaritzburg South, South Coast, Umbilo and Umhlanga.

Lesser likelihoods are Waterkloof, Queenstown and Pretoria East.

The CP has not yet nominated candidates in Hillbrow, Edenvale and Bezuidenhout.

This "spoiler" factor alone could drag the NP parliamentary set total down to the 90s from its present 122.

In addition, there are 39 marginal seats in the election—seats won in 1987 by majorities of fewer than 1,000 votes. Of those the NP could lose nine to the DP and 14 to the CP.

Only three seats that could fall because of the "spoiler" factor—Hillbrow, Springs and Edenvale—are on the marginal list.

The NP needs at least 84 seats in the 166-seat House of Assembly to retain an overall majority over the combined opposition.

**Poll Shows 'Significant' Swing Away From NP**  
*MB1007174989 Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans*  
*9 Jul 89 pp 1, 2*

[Text] A significant swing away from the National Party [NP] to the Conservative Party [CP] on the one hand, and the Democratic Party [DP] on the other, is indicated by the latest RAPPORT opinion poll.

The nationwide poll was conducted in June by Mark-en Meningsoopnames [Market and Opinion Polls] before the National Party's action plan caused new enthusiasm and before the right wing differences and the rumblings within the Democratic Party [DP] supporters surfaced. The effects of these two latter developments will be gauged in a lightning poll which will be conducted in the next 2 weeks to ascertain the latest state of affairs. These results will be published on 23 July in RAPPORT—the very last day on which the results of an opinion poll on the coming election may appear.

—NP support of 48.7 in a similar poll in April of this year dropped to 41.1 percent in June—the lowest yet achieved by this party in a RAPPORT poll. The previous low point was 43 percent soon after the split of 1982.

—The Conservative Party's support has risen in these 3 months from 18.6 to 23.9 percent, and is now almost back to where it was about 6 years ago when Dr Andries Treurnicht formed his party.

—The DP trumps the CP, having increased its support from 24.2 to 28.2 percent. This is considerably higher than its three predecessors (the Progressive Federal Party [PFP], the Independent Party, and the National Democratic Movement) were able to achieve jointly.

The opposition to the left of the NP is now stronger than the right: 28.4 for the left as against 24.9 present for the right (CP and Herstigte Nasionale Party, HNP [Reformed National Party] together). In June 1982 the figures were 16.9 percent left (PFP and New Republic Party, NRP) against 27.3 percent for the right.

While both opposition groups have attracted support away from the NP, in practice the picture could be more favorable for the ruling party on election day. Voters

who say they will definitely vote and those who are still in doubt were asked who they would vote for if they vote on 6 September. In that case, the NP is given 46.2 percent support against the DP's 27.4 percent and the CP's 24.7 percent.

As the NP's action plan had not yet been unveiled at the time of the survey, it can be expected to have considerable effect between now and 6 September on how the NP fares against the opposition to its left and right.

Mark en Meningopnames point out that the 'hypothetical' support which the individual parties would enjoy—as measured by the question on how the voter would vote if all parties fielded candidates in the voter's constituency—is not a true reflection of how the division of votes cast would appear in a general election. It almost never happens that all parties field candidates in all constituencies. While the NP is expected to field candidates in just about every constituency, the other parties will not have candidates for all their supporters.

There are also several other factors in practical politics which play a role in the voters' eventual decision on whether they do vote and if they do, for which party.

Several other questions were therefore asked of the approximately 2,000 participants in the nationwide poll in an attempt to gain an estimate of the division of votes on 6 September.

Voters in the poll sample were asked, for example, which party they would vote for if only the NP and CP fielded candidates. In that hypothetical case, the NP gained 56.1 percent against the CP's 25.8 percent, while 18.1 percent said they would not vote in such a situation. In a fight between the NP and the DP the NP does not fare as well; the figures are then 44.1 percent for the NP and 32.1 percent for the DP, with 23.8 percent not voting.

The stay-away vote is, of course, an important factor. Voters in the sample were therefore asked how certain they were that they would vote or abstain. Eighty-five percent said they would certainly vote, against 8.8 percent who would certainly not vote, and 6.2 percent who were uncertain. This is where the NP gains ground, because 92.7 percent of its supporters reckon they will certainly vote, as against 87.6 percent of the CP and 86.2 percent of the DP. (The lower percentages here can be partially ascribed to the fact that the last two parties will not field candidates for every seat.)

Revealing details come to light about the groups of voters who say they were definitely vote and those who are still in doubt (with NP support at 46.2 percent against the DP's 27.4 percent and the CP's 24.7 percent). Here it is significant that the DP's strongest support comes from the 18-24 age group. In this age group it enjoys 32.3 percent of the support against the NP's 43 percent and the CP's 21.7 percent.

Among the voters who will turn up at the polling booths on election day, the NP's support, by province, is: in the Cape Province the party gets 49.5 percent of the vote, in the Transvaal 42.1 percent, in Natal 50.3 percent, and in the Orange Free State, 58.8 percent.

The CP's power, of course, lies in the Transvaal, where it can count on 31 percent of the vote against only 15.1 percent in the Cape Province, 16 percent in Natal, and 27.1 percent in the Orange Free State. The DP enjoys 34.4 percent of voter support in the Cape Province, 24.9 percent in the Transvaal, 14.1 percent in the Orange Free State, and 30.7 percent in Natal.

—On the basis of all the aforementioned results, Mark-en Meningopnames gives the following preliminary estimates of the division of votes cast on 6 September:

NP.....46.6 percent  
DP.....27.6 percent  
CP.....24.5 percent  
HNP.....1.0 percent  
Others.....0.2 percent

In the last election, in May 1987, the division of votes cast was as follows:

NP.....46.6 percent  
CP.....26.3 percent  
PFP.....14.6 percent  
NRP.....1.9 percent  
Independent..1.0 percent  
HNP.....3.2 percent  
Others.....0.3 percent

In 1987, therefore, the DP's predecessors jointly gained 17.5 percent of the votes cast, against the 27.6 percent now being predicted.

—The NP has lost support from both language groups. Among Afrikaners its support dropped from 59.8 to 51.9 percent in the 3 months, while its support among English speakers decreased from 29.5 to 22.4 percent.

In the same 3 months, Afrikaner support for the CP rose from 27 to 33.7 percent, while it has also made some gains among English speakers—6.8 percent of them now want to vote CP.

The party with most support among English speakers is the DP, from 55.1 percent in April to 64 percent in June. (It now has 7.8 percent of the Afrikaner vote.)

**State Must Cut Spending To Avoid Budget Overrun**  
*MB1707110289 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY  
in English 17 Jul 89 p 1*

[By Greta Steyn]

[Text] Strict discipline will have to be exercised over spending for the rest of the fiscal year if government is to avoid another overrun on its Budget.

**Heavy spending in the first quarter puts tremendous pressure on government to rein in spending for the rest of the fiscal year.**

Three months into the financial year, key departments such as Defence and Police are almost 40 percent above last year's spending. They will have to curtail the rate of increase dramatically if they are to meet their respective budget increases of 13.7 percent and 17.2 percent.

An analysis of government finance statistics shows the state has used up more of its Budget than it had by this time last year. In the first quarter of 1989/90, government spent 25.2 percent of its Budget compared with last year's 22.9 percent of total spending.

Defence has used up 24 percent of its R9.94bn budget compared with 19.6 percent last year. Police has used 30 percent of its R2.5bn budget (26 percent in 1988/89).

**Heavy spending seasonally occurs in the first and last quarters of the fiscal year. The first quarter this year saw heavier spending than in 1988—so the last quarter of 1989/90 will have to see a dramatic scaling down of the traditional spending spree if government is to meet its targets and regain credibility.**

On the graph, "budgeted" spending figures were arrived at by taking last year's monthly spending as a percentage of the year's total expenditure—and assuming spending should continue at roughly the same monthly rate in the current fiscal year.

For the first three months of 1989/90, these "budgeted" figures were exceeded—and unless government manages to hold back spending in the rest of the year, especially the final quarter, the Budget will be exceeded.

Economists say the first quarter's spending performance puts tremendous pressure on government to end the traditional splurge in the last three months of the fiscal year.

However, Finance director-general Gerhard Croeser noted last week the expenditure pattern fluctuated from year to year and warned that the latest figures should not be interpreted as a sign of overspending.

He also said last year was an exception because of the "freeze" on civil servants' salaries. He warned transfers between departments sometimes resulted in high percentage increases from the previous year.

**Importance of Business Vote in Election Assessed**  
*MB1907112289 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY*  
*in English 19 Jul 89 p 10*

[By Raymond Parsons, Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry chief executive]

[Text] The significance of the September 6 general election is certainly not lost on the business community. Far from being part of a capitalist conspiracy to subvert democratic processes, the business sector constitutes a key opinion-forming group in SA [South Africa] as a whole.

This is perhaps even more important in the current fluid political situation. And there is much at stake for business—and the future of the free enterprise system—in the outcome of this watershed election.

The businessman, who may be adaptable and quick on his feet in his own particular field, is often perceived as conservative and conventional in the larger aspects of social and economic policy. But more and more businessmen have come to accept that the basic issues in SA have inevitably driven them far from their accustomed moorings into unknown and uncharted waters. Labour relations and constitutional reform have been just two such critical areas. Yet many businessmen accepted the challenge.

Many companies, both local and foreign, have given a strong lead on reform and change. But business opinion on these issues is by no means monolithic and it shares the hopes, fears and prejudices of the average voter.

Although the business community has no single voice on political questions, what might many businessmen be looking for in the various political parties? The politicians who seek the business vote in September should broadly offer positive and practical policies which will strengthen confidence, at home and abroad by:

- Mapping out a clear constitutional path ahead;
- Pursuing sound economic policies to promote stable growth; and
- Reducing the bureaucratic controls on the economy.

Why is business confidence important? Confidence is the engine that drives the economy. Businessmen must be persuaded to commit themselves on a large scale over the long haul. Private fixed investment, upon which job creation and many other things depend, needs the assurance of long-term political stability.

If businessmen expect large political or economic changes, but are uncertain as to what precise form these changes will take, their confidence will be weak. Hence businessmen will seek to test the various political programmes for their clarity and contribution to long-term stability.

But there will be further key tests on the political front. To maximise economic growth in an open economy like SA also requires political structures which are perceived to be legitimate internationally.

Of course, SA must decide its own political future. But the normalisation of our external economic and political relations—with the prospect of a capital inflow—is likely to be an important factor to many businessmen in the election debate.

After all, business has been at the cutting edge of international isolation, disinvestment and sanctions. With the current diplomatic "window of opportunity" in southern Africa and abroad, it is important that SA keeps that window open for as long as possible. The political party which is perceived to be most likely to do that will draw a favourable response from many businessmen.

Another major area of evaluation for the business sector is the running of the economy. This is likely to be a key issue in the election.

Like the consumer, businessmen are also victims of inflation and taxation. Bread-and-butter issues, and how these might be handled by the various political parties, enjoy a high level of awareness in the business community. It is what the private sector understands best.

Few businessmen claim to be economists, but they are familiar with the economic environment within which they have to operate. Businessmen are thus good sounding boards of what is worrying consumers.

Sensible and predictable economic management is important to businessmen. So is the whole process of privatisation and deregulation as a means of improving SA's economic performance. Removing obstacles to wealth creation by all features high on the agenda of the private sector. Like the late John Kennedy many businessmen believe that ultimately "a rising tide floats all ships".

Hence the business sector will scrutinise the party manifestos and public statements for credible commitments to less government lower taxation, economic growth and financial discipline. While there may well be a trade off in the business mind between economic questions and other issues, the need for sound economic policies is likely to feature strongly in decision on how to vote in September. Businessmen therefore want both an economic and a political vision of the future to evaluate.

Finally, the business community expects to be reassured by the quality of political leadership on offer. This is important for business confidence.

"If you work businessmen into a surly, obstinate, terrified mood, of which domestic animals, wrongly handled, are so capable," warned Lord Keynes, "the nation's burdens will not get carried to market; and in the end public opinion will veer their way".

Even if this is only half-true in SA, political parties would be unwise to ignore the business constituency and its concerns in the forthcoming election.

**WEEKLY MAIL Publishes 'Apartheid Barometer'**  
**MB1407151289 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL**  
**in English 14-20 Jul 89 p 4**

[("Apartheid Barometer" column)]

[Text]

#### EMERGENCY DETENTIONS

A total of 63 people were being held in detention under the Emergency regulations on Tuesday [11 July], according to the Human Rights Commission [HRC]. The HRC said that in the previous week about 60 people were

released from detention under the Emergency regulations, but there were about 20 new detentions in the same period. Two people are believed to be on hunger strike at the moment.

#### EMERGENCY RESTRICTION ORDERS

The Human Rights Commission has recorded a total of 668 people who have been served with restriction orders under Emergency regulations. An HRC representative said that this figure reflected the number reported to the organisation and that the real total could well be considerably higher.

#### ILLITERACY

About 50 percent of the people in South Africa are illiterate, University of the Western Cape education lecturer Graeme Bloch said at a conference in Cape Town this week. He also said that about one million blacks between the ages of seven and 16 do not attend school. He said there were 23,000 vacant places at white schools.

#### SCHOOLGOING POPULATION

In 1986, according to figures released in the latest SA [South African] Institute of Race Relations [SAIRR] Yearbook, a total of 6,237,070 African pupils were attending school in South Africa (including the "independent homelands"). The SAIRR figures show that in 1986 there were 798,507 coloured pupils, 232,468 Indians and 897,968 whites.

At the matric level the comparative figures were as follows: African—127,515 (two percent); coloured—17,500 (2.2 percent); Indian—11,700 (5.0 percent) and white—61,309 (6.8 percent).

At the secondary school level the comparative figures were as follows: African—1,291,125 (20.7 percent); coloured—202,261 (25.3 percent); Indian—87,319 (37.5 percent) and white—376,099 (41.9 percent).

At a primary school level the comparative figures were as follows: African—4,945,945 (79.3 percent of total); coloured—596,246 (74.7 percent); Indian—145,149 (62.5 percent) and white—521,865 (58.1 percent).

The figures for the lower primary level (Sub A to standard 2) were as follows: African—3,317,594 (53.2 percent); coloured—361,497 (45.3 percent); Indian—80,385 (34.6 percent) and white—290,905 (32.4 percent).

The figures for Sub A (Grade 1) were follows: African—1,067,992 (17.1 percent); coloured—102,284 (12.8 percent); Indian—20,000 (8.6 percent) and white—74,654 (8.3 percent). In 1986 therefore for every one white Sub A there were 14.7 black Sub As. For every white matric student there were 2.56 black matrics.

### UNDER-QUALIFIED TEACHERS

In 1986, according to the SA Institute of Race Relations, there were 155,147 teachers in African schools, 33,080 in coloured schools, 4,792 in Indian schools and 72,740 in white schools. If a three year post standard 10 teacher's certificate or diploma is regarded as the minimum qualification for a teacher then 93 percent of African teachers outside the "independent homelands" were not adequately qualified, while in Bophuthatswana 95 percent were under-qualified. Figures for the other "independent homelands" were not available.

### PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

**ROLAND HUNTER**, 31, was detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act on December 13 1983, was jailed for charges under the Defence Act over nine months later, and is still being held in Pretoria Central Prison.

After matriculating in 1975 Hunter completed a degree in economic science and a diploma in planning at Wits [Witwatersrand] University. He also worked for Escom [Electricity and Supply Commission] during this period. In 1982 he went to the army where he was alleged to have been recruited by the African National Congress [ANC] and to have passed on information concerning South African Defence Force-supported Renamo training camps in the Northern Transvaal.

He was charged with high treason and with being a member of the ANC. These charges were later dropped and on September 26 1984 he was convicted under the Defence Act for passing information to unauthorised persons. He was sentenced to five years imprisonment. He is completing a masters degree in economic science.

### BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for distribution and importation: Photo Manual of Group Sex (Dr Christine Pickard and Sam Haskins).

\* New Projects Increase Base-Metals Exports  
34000615a Johannesburg FINANCIAL MAIL  
(MINING) Supplement in English 9 Jun 89  
pp 18, 20-21

[Text] New projects now on stream or currently under construction will increase SA [South Africa's] exports of base metals and alloys such as ferrochrome and vanadium pentoxide as the bull market in base metals continues.

Both Vansa Vanadium (see separate article) and ChromeCorp Technology are now up and running while good progress is being made on a number of other projects which are coming on stream. Yet more plans have been announced.

Despite predictions that the ferrochrome market would start cooling off in the second half of 1988, the opposite happened as demand from the stainless steel industry continued unabated and the ferrochrome price rose steadily. That was despite a deliberate policy of price restraint from the SA producers to keep the price increases at moderate levels so as not to push the stainless steel price up too quickly and affect demand.

SA producers provide about 45 percent of the world's ferrochrome and the bulk of that goes into stainless steel. According to UK stockbrokers, James Capel, the stainless steel market grew at an average rate of 3.5 percent between 1970 and 1987 but has since taken off. Production hit 9.4 Mt in 1987 and then jumped 13 percent to 10.6 Mt in 1988 while estimates of stainless steel consumption this year range upwards from 11 Mt.

The price of ferrochrome has doubled from about 40c/lb to 81c/lb over the last three years and the strength in the market meant that ChromeCorp Technology (CCT) chairman John Vorster was able to realise his dream of bringing the plant into production at a time of rising prices.

CCT started its furnaces in December last year as Vorster brought the plant into production on schedule and for a cost of R65m, only 8 percent over the original estimate of R60m. CCT built rapidly to rated output of 120,000 t/year of ferrochrome during the first half of 1989 and Vorster is already planning to put in a third furnace to push output to 180,000 t/year. Financial backing for the plant came from a syndicate of Swiss investors who put up US\$14m through the financial rand. Vorster reckons these investors will get their money back out of the first year's profits if the ferrochrome market holds up.

Vorster's former employer, Samancor, is the world's largest supplier of ferrochrome and is also expanding its output rapidly after an initial hesitation. A new furnace was built at the Tubatse plant during 1988 and was started up in March this year. This will push output from Tubatse from the present 180,000 t/year to 240,000 t/year but Samancor is also putting in another new furnace at Tubatse to be in operation by the end of this year. That will increase Tubatse's production to 300,000 t/year and the Samancor group's total ferrochrome output to 620,000 t.

Cost of these expansions is about R30m each but that amount is peanuts compared to the estimated R2bn that could be spent if the group gives the go-ahead to plans to start producing stainless steel.

Samancor has formed a joint venture on the project with Highveld Steel and Vanadium. A joint feasibility study is under way and a decision is due in the second half of the year. Details are not available at this stage but it is understood the project involves a plant to produce between 250,000 t and 500,000 t of stainless steel billet annually.

This is a semi-finished product which would be exported to customers overseas for final manufacture in finished form. It is understood stainless steel plants in Taiwan will be major customers.

The other requirement to make stainless steel, apart from expertise, iron ore and ferrochrome, is nickel. This metal is produced by a by-product from the platinum mining operations on the Merensky Reef and the new stainless steel plant can therefore get it from Rustenburg Platinum or Impala Platinum. James Capel has suggested nickel supply in SA will be insufficient to meet demand and a new nickel mine could be set up. Their bet is for an early start to mining on the Platreef deposit near Potgietersrus, which has good nickel grades, by Rustenburg Platinum/Lebowa Platinum which control the mineral rights to much of the Platreef.

SA's only existing producer of stainless steel, Middelburg Steel and Alloys (MSA), is also expanding. MSA will push its annual output of 315,000 t/year of ferrochrome up to 465,000 t/year through a 30,000 t/year expansion at its Krugersdorp plant and a new 120,000 t/year ferrochrome plant at its Middelburg works. The Middelburg expansion will cost R220m because MSA is going for state-of-the-art direct reduction technology which costs more upfront than the conventional submerged arc smelting technology used by the rest of the industry.

MSA says the pay-off will come in lower operating costs because the new technology will reduce electricity requirements to produce ferrochrome by 75 percent while it will also use cheap coal in place of expensive metallurgical grade coke and give significantly higher chrome recoveries. MSA also intends increasing its stainless steel production from 100,000 t/year to about 170,000 t/year at a cost of R20m. The new ferrochrome plant is to be integrated with the stainless steel melt-shop.

Consolidated Metallurgical Industries (CMI) was the last of the established ferrochrome producers to make up its mind on expansion but the announcement finally came at the end of last year. CMI currently produces 150,000 t/year. This will be increased to 160,000 t/year by mid-1989 through minor plant modifications and then to 200,000 t/year from the first quarter of 1990 when a third furnace is installed.

The market for vanadium pentoxide took off even more dramatically than the ferrochrome market in 1988 when the spot price soared to record levels of \$11/lb compared with between \$2/lb and \$3/lb in 1986. SA companies dominate world supply. According to figures from Hiveld

chairman Leslie Boyd, SA producers provided 65m lb (29,250 t) equivalent to 72 percent of total Western world vanadium production of 90m lb (40,500 t).

Vansa had announced its intentions of getting into the market from 1985 but other new entrants held back until this year. Then all and sundry appeared to be climbing on the bandwagon raising the immediate possibility of a market bust at some point in the future.

Hiveld kicked off in February announcing plans to spend R167m on four projects which would increase the group's production of steel, vanadium pentoxide, silicomanganese and ferrosilicon. The group is to spend R25m on a new rotary kiln at its Vantra division which will increase the division's production capacity to 17m pounds of vanadium pentoxide annually from the current level of 13m pounds. The expansion should be in place by the end of this year.

Hiveld also intends spending R11m to upgrade the ferrosilicon production facilities at its Rand Carbide plant and another R60m for a fifth silicomanganese furnace at its Transalloys plant. Boyd will not specify production levels from these plants.

In addition, the group will spend R71m on a pelletising plant to utilise iron ore fines in the iron plants. Converting the fines to pellets is expected to increase furnace efficiencies and lead to higher iron production. Boyd says he is expecting a "modest" increase in iron production but will not specify the forecast rise in output. The bulk of Hiveld's vanadium production is in the form of vanadium slag from the iron works, so increasing iron output will also push up the amount of vanadium slag produced.

Boyd expects the buoyant markets for all Hiveld's products to continue through 1989 and is also optimistic on the longer-term future for the group. He sides with economists who predict steady, stable economic growth in major industrialised nations during the Nineties.

Boyd is not alone in his forecasts because Union Steel (Usco), for one, also obviously believes the good times in the market will continue. USCO announced plans in March for the conversion of some of its existing plant in Vereeniging to produce 9,000 t/year of vanadium pentoxide flake with production due to start in the second half of 1990. The plant will be supplied from a mine to be set up by the Rhombus mining group in Bophuthatswana. The Rhombus group is headed by Les Holmes who re-opened the Sub Nigel gold mine near the town of Nigel on the East Rand.

In addition to the Usco and Vansa expansions, there are also projects under way or being considered in Australia, Chile and Canada which, if they all go ahead, will bring another 9,000 t/year (20m lb) of vanadium pentoxide on to the market. Using Boyd's figures, that amounts to a 50 percent increase in production over the level of demand

for vanadium pentoxide seen in 1988. It remains to be seen if all these projects will come in as planned and what they will do to the price of vanadium, but the skeptics are drawing up gloom and doom scenarios accordingly.

Reaction from the various SA companies, when asked what will happen if the market becomes heavily oversupplied and the price falls sharply as a result, is invariably that they will survive because they are low cost producers.

Holmes' Rhombus group is trying to get another base metal project on-line but so far seems to have had little success.

This involves a scheme to produce titanium from a heavy mineral sands deposit in the Transkei near the Kei river mouth. Holmes is proposing to set up a beach mining operation similar to that being carried out by Richards Bay Minerals on the northern Natal coast.

The Transkei operation is forecast to produce about 300,000 t/year of ilmenite, 25,000 t/year of rutile and 30,000 t/year of zircon—all minerals containing titanium—but capital expenditure of between R80m and R100m is needed to bring it into production.

Holmes appears to be having problems raising that kind of money under current bearish stock market conditions, particularly with major investors casting a jaundiced eye on the mining independents after their poor performances to date. But that's another story.

#### 19 Jul Press Review on Current Problems, Issues MB1907170789

[Editorial Report]

#### THE CITIZEN

**Lusaka Visitors 'Taken in' By ANC 'Reasonableness'**— "How gullible the trekkers to Lusaka are," observes a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 19 July. "They are taken in by the ANC's [African National Congress] air of sweet reasonableness, by its pretence that it is prepared to negotiate a future dispensation, by its constant reference to its 'democratic' objectives, by its calls on them to join the struggle for a new non-racial, non-sexist society." "The ANC has now given notice that despite all the footsie footsie that is going on, it is still determined to take over by force if it can, or collapse the economy and create the conditions of revolution if it can't. It has announced that, together with antiapartheid groups, it plans a new worldwide campaign for economic sanctions against South Africa, one objective being to prevent the rescheduling of South Africa's international debt." "To wreck the economy is not only to sabotage the present, but to sabotage the post-apartheid future. And that, among other reasons, is why the ANC should be shunned until it comes to its senses."

#### THE STAR

**Botha-Mandela Talks Part of 'Social Whirl'**— A page 14 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 19 July reads: "It's a great comfort to know that the bizarre is still... er, still so marvelously normal. Mr Nelson Mandela celebrated his 71st birthday yesterday with a party. Nothing fancy, you understand, just family and a few friends. The other day he had a tea party with a chappie called P.W. Botha. It's one event after the other on the social whirl these days. To countries more hide-bound by convention, it might seem odd for a prisoner of state and a president of state to hobnob. But not for us, oh dear no. And what could be more natural, really, than a nice get-together in jail? Well, one thing could. Perhaps General Geldenhuys might ask the SADF [South African Defense Force] Ladies' Association if it would sponsor a flypast."

#### BUSINESS DAY

**NP 'Policy Switches' Prove 'Political Maneuvres'**— "South Africa has never been uninteresting to live in. But in the last months it has also shown signs of becoming hopeful, too," asserts a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 19 July. "The National Party government is reversing—with welcome, even bemusing speed—out of foreign and domestic cul-de-sacs. That some of these were of the Nationalists' own making in the first place should not disqualify them from the credit they deserve, where they deserve it." "The major caveat is that we are not witnessing policy switches but political manoeuvres which could in time conceivably clear ground for new policies." "The ultimate test of sustained political courage is revealed in changes of policy; that we have yet to see. Until then, signs cannot be taken for wonders."

#### SOWETAN

**Mandela Release To Offer Chance at 'Father of Nation'**— "In wishing Mandela all the best on his 71st birthday we are anxious that he be released soon," reiterates a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 19 July. "This will make him not only effective in helping this country in whatever future lies ahead, but it would give him the well-deserved opportunity to be a father to his family, and, for some people, a father of the nation."

#### CAPE TIMES

**Negotiation Difficulties 'Formidable'**— "The new political situation in South Africa created by the Botha-Mandela meeting is as yet dimly understood," opines the Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 17 July in a page 6 editorial. "After decades of repression and conflict the switch to the politics of negotiation will take some getting used to—by all concerned. Sweetness and light are not about to prevail. A transition period is beginning which could in some ways be rougher than ever and untidy and long-drawn-out before the parties are finally seated at the negotiating table. The difficulties are formidable." "There

will be much posturing on both sides and periods of confrontation and heightened tension, even intensified violence, when negotiation seems to be the last thing on anybody's minds. But the important thing will be that the goal has changed, at the symbolic level at least, and the prospect is no longer only one of endless violence." "New vistas of a peaceful and prosperous South Africa are dimly on the horizon. If the expectations raised by the Botha-Mandela meeting are dashed, however, South Africa's state will be unenviable indeed."

**Negotiations Pose 'Conundrum'**—"Here is a conundrum: If the National Party cannot repeal the Group Areas Act for fear of losing its power base, how can it negotiate with the ANC for a transition to democracy without losing that base? Put differently, how can the NP under Mr F. W. de Klerk possibly meet the soaring expectations raised, here and abroad, by the historic meeting in Tuynhuys of President Botha and Nelson Mandela?" asks Ken Owen in a page 6 column on the same day. "The obvious answer is by leadership of a very high degree; the more likely answer, concealed in the labyrinthine deviousness of Nationalist political style, is that the party's words and actions don't mean what they seem to mean." The danger is that the NP will revert to its "usual style of semantic deceit: 'Separate development', 'the extension of university education', 'dispensation', 'participation', 'own affairs', and such verbal trickery has established a habit of dishonesty in the party. The question in this campaign is whether the Nationalists will educate voters to look to Nelson Mandela as a leader of a democracy struggling to be born, or whether they will, once again, try to lie their way out of trouble."

#### TRANSVALER

**Negotiation Becomes 'In Thing'**—"Negotiation is in the air, and the word 'negotiation' is fast becoming the 'in' thing," notes a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 17 July. "That is encouraging, especially since those who claim to favor it are becoming a growing portion of the political spectrum. But, something occurs that places the excitement of negotiation in perspective and reminds one not to get too excited. When COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] President Elijah Barayi, for example, spells out his organization's demands for getting the negotiation process moving, it is obvious that we are still on the first rung of the ladder." "What is he demanding? That the government first hand the country over to radicals and revolutionaries before they start talking? There can be only one reaction to this: Forget it! If those are your conditions for dialogue, it will never take place!"

#### WINDHOEK OBSERVER

**Campaign Becoming 'Political Circus'**—"The cheap capers of the political circus are deepening the embarrassment in the minds of those who have hoped for a campaign marked by powerful and explicit enunciation of policy, given with equanimity. Nothing of the kind is

seen of course," writes the Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English on 15 July in a page 10 editorial. The current campaign "barely deserves the designation 'campaign' for it amounts to mudslinging conducted at an alarmingly low level." We praise men like the NP's [National Party] Kosie Pretorius and SWAPO's [South-West African People's Organization] Theo-Ben Gurirab "for their sober, toned-down appeals." "South-West Africa! For years you have been in bondage." "Now show dignity, now show fibre, now move forward despite political divergency for the common good of the stricken fatherland." "For years diversity has been exploited, and this has led to bitter hatred which hardly stands a chance of being erased. And what do we find now at the dawning of potential nationhood? More exploitation of diversity; increasingly violent verdicts of political opponents. The leader who rises now and embraces the future with a total disregard of the past is the man that will lead the people."

20 Jul Press Review

MB2007193086

[Editorial Report]

#### THE CITIZEN

**NP Must 'Climb In' Election Campaign**—"With nominations in on Monday [24 July], the election campaign will begin in earnest," forecasts a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 20 July. "So far the Democratic Party has made all the running. Its three co-leaders have been firing off election speeches and statements for weeks." "The Conservative Party, like the National Party, has also been somewhat low-key, though predictably it accuses the government of being soft on the ANC, threatening the survival of whites, kowtowing to overseas governments, being guilty of corruption, and making life difficult economically for the man in the street." "Since there is more political fluidity than there has been for years, what happens between Monday and 6 September will determine the outcome. For its own sake, the NP had better climb in, boots and all."

#### THE STAR

**De Klerk Must Note ANC Role in Negotiations**—"Amid signs of National Party disarray over the state president's historic meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr F.W. de Klerk is expected to make a 'definitive statement' on the subject soon," predicts Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 20 July in a page 10 editorial. "One might hope he will use the occasion to exploit to the full the undoubtedly significance of the event. Instead, however, it is reported that the NP is trying to play down its importance. If this happens it will be another capitulation to the politics of fear." "Caught in a trap of its own making, the NP could thus lose votes to both left and right." "If Mr de Klerk is going to allow himself to be persuaded to revert to the old policy of pretending the ANC doesn't matter, he will certainly dampen expectations that have been raised. Then

how can he make good the assurances he gave Mrs Margaret Thatcher and other leaders abroad? And what is he going to have to offer Mr Bush?"

### BUSINESS DAY

**Cost of Refusing ANC Talks 'Very High'**—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 20 July notes in a page 8 editorial that "peace agreements come, as Henry Kissinger was wont to say, when both parties to any conflict perceive in peace a greater advantage than in continued warfare. The moment is critical: leave it too long, and the balance is bound to shift one way or another, persuading one or other party that advantage lies in war rather than in peace. Whether such a critical moment has arrived in the relationship between the South African Government and the African National Congress is a matter of debate. Clearly, both sides are under the kind of pressure that makes peace desirable." "South Africans can follow, from day to day, the shifts in the position taken by their own government; to follow the policies of the ANC is much more difficult." "Of course, the ANC still pretends that its armed struggle is a crucial element in bringing the government to negotiation; in fact, if the liberation of South Africa were to depend on 'armed struggle', it would be a generation or more away. The country and the region would be reduced to a wilderness before armed struggle, of itself, might be expected to cause a transfer of power. Yet the cost of refusing to negotiate is very high for both sides, and the possibilities that have emerged deserve careful study and public debate."

**Vlok Statement 'Apparent Switch' in Policy**—"Adriaan Vlok's acknowledgement that government cannot isolate itself from the international community is a far cry from the defiant 'do your damnedest' of just a few years ago," asserts a second editorial on the same page. "Speaking to a platteland [rural] audience at Secunda, the law and order minister conceded that sanctions were hurting the economy, and admitted that government was hamstrung because the economy was not growing as it should." "Vlok has articulated what constitutes an apparent switch in government policy. Where the approach was to batten down the hatches and try to weather the storm, the impact of the R27bn capital flight over the past five years has led to a new realism in government thinking. The keenness of National Party leader F.W. de Klerk and other senior ministers to meet Western and Southern African leaders, and President P.W. Botha's celebrated meeting with Nelson Mandela are of course signs of this new realism. When ministers such as Vlok charged not with winning overseas friends, but maintaining unpopular measures back home such as the state of emergency, detention without trial, and policing apartheid laws, adopt the same position, it is clear that government has embarked on a new course—a course which takes into account that political actions can sometimes have harsh economic consequences."

### SOWETAN

**'Marshall Plan' Ploy To Impress World**—"The leader of the National Party, Mr F.W. de Klerk, was yesterday expected to discuss a 'Marshall Plan' for Southern Africa and peace plans for Mozambique with the leader of that country, President Joaquim Chissano," recalls a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 20 July. "The 'Marshall Plan', named after the American plan to build Europe after World War II, involves the combination of European finance and South African expertise to develop the region." "On the surface, the two events might appear unrelated. But scratch a little deeper then it is quite clear that the efforts of the NP at this stage are directed at impressing the external world. South Africa bought time when it agreed to the UN peace plan for Namibia. It is now looking at other trouble spots to get more time. But this time will be meaningless unless the government really commits itself to dismantling apartheid and creating a real democracy."

### CAPE TIMES

**Peace Provides Opportunity To Scale Down Conscription**—"The Namibian settlement and a climate of greater peace in southern Africa provide a heaven-sent opportunity for South Africa to scale down conscription in the South African Defense Force [SADF]," observes Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 18 July in a page 4 editorial. Some steps have already been taken, "but for the sake of an embattled economy, among other reasons, more is required. The present system of conscription removes able-bodied and economically-active males in two ways. It sends them off into unproductive limbo for two years, or it chases them out of the country completely." The SADF chief says there is likely to be more emphasis on voluntary service in the future. "If that reduces conscription it is to be welcomed, so long as all races are involved, on an equal basis. The answer may ultimately lie in a professional army backed up by volunteer units."

**Questions Over Renamo Aid Claims**—Herman Cohen, "a responsible American official," says that "aid from South Africa is still reaching Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance]," notes a second editorial on the same page. Despite the Nkomati Accord, "Renamo has carried on like Frankenstein's monster, butchering civilians and laying waste the countryside. The American government, which operates space-age surveillance systems, confidently insists that aid continues to flow. Either Mr Cohen is talking nonsense or Pretoria, while professing peace, is acting with extraordinary duplicity. What is going on?"

### DIE BURGER

**No 'Savior' To Wish Away Economic Woes**—"Anglo-American Chairman Gavin Relly has provided a necessary perspective to the economic problems South Africa is experiencing," believes a page 14 editorial in Cape

Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans on 18 July. "The Anglo chairman is no government supporter, but his views cannot be unceremoniously dismissed as propaganda." "Regardless of whether a left-wing or right-wing government comes to power, the unacceptably high population growth rate will have to be solved economically." "If the situation is observed both clinically and emotionally, South Africa is going through a phase that requires economic sacrifices from South Africans. Voters who will want to reject the National Party as a result should know that they won't find a savior who will wish away all the economic problems with a magic wand."

#### BEELD

**'Greater Flexibility' Prompts 'Hopeful' Change**—"For the first time in years it seems as if the government has taken the initiative," claims a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 19 July. "F.W. de Klerk is sending messages of hope both internally and abroad, and, just when the opposition groups think they have mastered the situation, President P.W. Botha talks to Nelson Mandela, thereby creating a new fluidity." "The government's 'greater flexibility' is changing the political game rules dramatically." "The easy reaction to the new initiative is protest politics." "Flexibility and pragmatism have eliminated many ideological cobwebs. The question is: What will be done about this hopeful change for the better? Will all groups examine old prejudices and abandon their trenches of many years to stand for a new South Africa?"

**Renamo Supporters Mock Credibility**—"Who is it this secret power that aids Renamo rebels in Mozambique? This story appears far too often to be ignored," observes a second editorial on the same page. "Herman Cohen seems a man who would not repeat rumors, but he is convinced that South Africa is helping Renamo. More important, he believes South Africa can put a stop to it." "It is a pity that the Americans do not want to reveal their source of information, because, if these allegations are true, every South African will hang his head in

shame. Pik Botha, who has plans for Mozambique and South Africa, has assured the world that we do not support Renamo. Whoever is doing it on our behalf is making a mockery of not only the Foreign Affairs Department but also South Africa's credibility."

#### ILANGA

**Black Unity Key To Successful Government Talks**—"Recent talks between the jailed leader of the ANC and President P.W. Botha were historic and clearly indicate a notable shift in the politics of South Africa," says a page 6 editorial in Durban ILANGA in Zulu for 13-15 July. "Those in the ANC, the South African Council of Churches, and some others within the country are missing it when they dismiss the talks as being meant to mislead the South African public and the West, and when they say they are an empty political ploy." Some local church leaders "have become a problem themselves and contribute nothing to the resolution of the problems engulfing the country. If these talks bear fruit, those persons will lose their credibility and fame." "The talks between President Botha and Dr Mandela usher in a new South Africa." "The government knows that there will be no negotiations while Dr Mandela is in prison." "It is vital that black unity should become visible. No talks with the government will succeed without black unity."

**Mandela-Botha Meeting Brings Nation to Crossroads**—"There is no doubt South Africa has come to the crossroads in the eyes of the world following the historic meeting between President Botha and jailed ANC leader Dr Nelson Mandela," observes a page 4 editorial in Durban ILANGA in Zulu for 17-19 July. "Dr Mandela's admonition and open message to government on negotiations toward peace are of great significance. The message should be carefully considered, and the government should then take urgent steps away from the old stance against negotiation with the ANC and other organizations." "We need calm, levelheaded people to turn this land of apartheid into one with a bright future where all groups share political power."

### Angola

**Foreign Minister Discusses Peace Process Progress**  
*MB2107133889 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese*  
*1200 GMT 21 Jul 89*

[Dispatch from Addis Ababa correspondent Fernando Mendes; passages in quotation marks recorded]

[Text] Comrade Pedro de Castro van Dunem Loy, our government's foreign minister, who is here in Addis Ababa within the framework of the OAU's annual summit, today gave a news conference at the provisional building of the recently-opened Angolan Embassy in Ethiopia.

The Angolan foreign minister answered a number of questions from journalists ranging from Angola's IMF membership to the peace program. As expected, particular attention was paid to the peace program, which was dominant issue of the news conference:

[Van Dunem] "As you know, the commission established at the Gbadolite summit to implement the Gbadolite agreement to bring peace to our country has resumed its proceedings. These proceedings are so far moving ahead. I have no details on their development, but we think they are continuing satisfactorily."

"As you know, a commission has been established, in line with a proposal made by the mediating country, to verify the cease-fire. The commission consists of representatives from the Angolan Government, UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], and the mediating country—that is, Zaire. The main aim of this commission is to verify cease-fire-violation allegations."

The Angolan foreign minister, speaking in three languages—French, English, and Portuguese—answered questions about the person of Jonas Savimbi. Questions were unusually persistent, particularly those by an AGENCE-FRANCE PRESSE journalist driven by a certain degree of sensationalism. The French female journalist asked: Will Jonas Savimbi leave Angola or not? This was followed by other question from another reporter who referred to a statement allegedly made by Savimbi that he refused to leave Angola. The Angolan minister replied:

[Van Dunem, in French fading into Portuguese translation] "People usually talk a lot about this issue. We took on responsibilities at the Gbadolite summit. We believe that what matters is not whether he says he will leave or not. There are compromises which cannot be (?delayed). The commission has been working to implement what has been decided in Gbadolite, and we believe we will reach a satisfactory conclusion."

The same French female journalist then asked: Should he remain in Angola, what will Savimbi do? What is the concrete situation on this matter?

The Angolan foreign minister answered:

[Van Dunem, in French fading into Portuguese translation] "Do you want me to tell you what has been arranged, namely if a government post has been allocated to him, or whether Savimbi will be locked up?"

The minister (?pointed out) that, in fact, the peace plan considers Savimbi's withdrawal to facilitate the process of integrating UNITA elements into Angolan institutions, the state, and the Armed Forces.

Comrade Loy said that our authorities are still worried about renewed cease-fire violations by UNITA. However, he said, the setting up of a commission to strictly verify the end of hostilities is an extremely important element that could positively change the current state of affairs.

On the question of Zaire having been chosen as a mediator between the Angolan Government and UNITA, for—and I am quoting the journalist—it is a country which is traditionally hostile to the MPLA. Minister Loy said that all countries which express a desire to assist Angola in the search for peace will always be welcome. So far, the minister said, we have no complaints about the mediator's role and performance. We fully trust Zaire.

**Government Notes UNITA Cease-Fire Violations**  
*MB2107063089 Luanda ANGOP in Portuguese*  
*1940 GMT 20 Jul 89*

[Text] Luanda, 20/7 (ANGOP)—A UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] group on Tuesday [18 July] attacked five civilian vehicles on the Rio Weza-Ambriz (Bengo) road, killing two citizens and wounding one.

A total of 15 citizens, including children and adults, were abducted. This was reported by a military source in Luanda on Wednesday.

The source said, on the same day, UNITA elements planted an antitank land mine on the Luanda-Malange railroad, Calomboloca region (Bengo), resulting in the derailment of a train and the destruction of two train cars.

Property carried by the locomotive and destined for Kwanza-Norte residents was plundered.

On the same day, UNITA destroyed an electricity pylon on the Barra do Dande/Caxito Road, cutting regional power and water supplies.

**Commentary Assesses 'Opportunistic' U.S. Policy**  
*MB2107063189 Luanda ANGOP in Portuguese*  
*1940 GMT 20 Jul 89*

[Commentary]

[Text] The U.S. Government continues to say it won't establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Angola [RPA] before the fulfillment of what it has described as "national reconciliation between UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]."

Meanwhile, it seems the United States does not intend to deny the support so that Angola becomes a full member of the IMF, which would be a positive sign. [sentence as received]

After a successive policy of blackmail and pressure on the Angolan Government, all of which was doomed to fail, one cannot exactly understand why the Bush administration does not end previous opportunistic interferences in the domestic affairs of the RPA.

With a few exceptions, Angola is a state recognized by the whole international community, which only honors its dignity and coherent principles. Angola has never begged (nor does it intend to do so in the future) its recognition by any state, even in the case, like the United States, of one of the planet's superpowers.

Once its internal problems have been solved—problems which, to a large extent, have been aggravated by the negative attitude adopted by the United States, either through the varied support it gives to UNITA or difficulties that it creates for Angola's admission to the IMF—could it still be that Angola will include the normalization of bilateral relations with that country on its list of political priorities?

A completely different attitude has been demonstrated by the Portuguese Government of Prof Cavaco Silva. With pragmatism and a sense of realism, this government has assumed sensible attitudes in relation to southern Africa, particularly Angola, paying no attention to criticism from various quarters.

Once a not so good phase of its bilateral relations was overcome, the Portuguese Government has been following the path of reason and justice in its relations with the Angolan Government, thereby giving a true meaning to the desire for friendship and cooperation among the two peoples, in a spirit of mutual respect and sovereignty.

So, recent reports about an alleged imminent meeting between the president of the People's Republic of Angola and the UNITA leader, which was supposed to have been arranged by Portuguese diplomats, are unfounded. Obviously, this would mean a retreat, and one might

confuse this with an opportunistic policy, like the U.S. policy, and the opportune one that Portugal has been able to follow in the past few years.

**Tribunal Sentences Former Officers for 'Espionage'**  
*MB2107063389 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese*  
*1900 GMT 20 Jul 89*

[Text] Humberto Campos Abrantes and Francisco Jose Jorge Setas Ferreira, two former Angolan Air Force officers, were today sentenced to death by firing squad by the People's Revolutionary Tribunal after being found guilty of espionage against the People's Republic of Angola.

The accused, who spied for the South African intelligence services BOSS [Bureau of State Security], passed assorted reports of a political and military nature, notably concerning the Angolan Air Force. The reports carried secret and [word indistinct] classification.

During the trial, the defendants admitted being BOSS agents. Humberto Campos Abrantes, who was recruited in 1984, lured Francisco Jose Jorge Setas Ferreira to carry out the same criminal activities in 1985, taking advantage of the latter's experience as a pilot and ability to obtain military information. During their espionage activities, the defendants provided information about the quantity and quality of helicopters in the Angolan Air Force and its Cuban counterpart in Angola; the number, quality, and type of training of pilots; personnel and aircraft losses; military call-ups; Angolan and Cuban troop movements; and the unloading of military equipment in Angola's northern ports.

The sentence was read this morning by Dr Augusto da Costa Carneiro, chief justice of the People's Revolutionary Tribunal, and will be sent to the [words indistinct] tribunal for [words indistinct] the president of the Republic. Following its approval, the sentence will be commuted or ratified.

**Mozambique**

**De Klerk, Chissano Give Joint News Conference**  
*MB2007135889 Maputo in English to Southern Africa*  
*1110 GMT 20 Jul 89*

[Report on news conference by F.W. de Klerk, South African National Party leader; Pik Botha, South African foreign minister; and President Joaquim Chissano in Maputo on 19 July—passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] This edition is dedicated to yesterday's news conference in Maputo at the end of 3 hours of talks between President Chissano and the leader of South Africa's ruling whites-only National Party, F.W. de Klerk.

[De Klerk] "I haven't a prepared statement before. I would, firstly, like to say that it was a tremendous opportunity for me and my colleagues to once again renew the interaction between the government of Mozambique and the government of the Republic of South Africa. Our talks took place against the background of the very important discussions which have been held on previous occasions between the president of the Republic of South Africa, Mr P.W. Botha; and President Chissano.

"We had the opportunity to discuss the matters of mutual concern to both our countries. We also concentrated in our discussions on the very important problems facing southern Africa as a region and the constructive role which South Africa is prepared to play both with regard to southern Africa as well as with regard to continued interaction with Mozambique. I also had the opportunity to put across views of the party of which I am the leader with regard to the future as we see it and to expand on the information already published with regard to our 5-year program of action and the election platform on which we stand. I have gained through this meeting important perspectives with regard to the southern African situation as well as with regard to particular situations in Mozambique. I found it a marvelous opportunity also to get to know President Chissano better and members of his government."

After his statement, Mr de Klerk was then asked questions by the dozens of foreign and Mozambican journalists who had gathered there. The first question was whether he had assured President Chissano of Mozambique that any support that may be still coming from South Africa to the MNR [Mozambique National Resistance] would come to an end soon. Here is Mr de Klerk:

[De Klerk] "Yes, our government's point of view with regard to support to Renamo is well known, and we have reiterated that point of view."

Mr de Klerk was then asked if he had come to Maputo to seek Mozambique's assistance in bringing about peace inside South Africa itself:

[De Klerk] "Well, I think we all need to play a positive role to assure that we break out of the cycle of violence in southern Africa as a region and in all the components of southern Africa, and inasmuch as anybody can play a helpful role to help to assure that within also South Africa, the process of peaceful development can take place successful, yes, we welcome that help. We basically believe that countries should not interfere in internal affairs of other countries and in that sense of the word, I also had the opportunity to reiterate our point of view in that regard, and I found myself in full agreement with President Chissano. That applies also to his country and to all other countries. But, yes, what we need to do is to grasp the opportunity offered by recent developments inside certain countries in southern Africa and in southern Africa as a whole to work toward a peaceful region

where the full potential of the region of southern Africa can be unleashed and can be attained, and that presupposes also stability inside all the countries in southern Africa."

Mr F.W. de Klerk was then asked what, if anything, his National Party would be able to do to help the peace process in Mozambique:

[De Klerk] "Well, I wouldn't like to go into any detail in that regard. We are prepared to play a constructive role without intervening into the internal affairs of Mozambique itself. Obviously, very, very important is economic development, is the question of bringing into fruition the situation with regard to Cahora Cabras and related matters. In other words, development must go hand in hand also with the seeking of the political peace and in that sense of the word, flowing from the Nkomati Accord, there are many particular actions taking place. I don't know whether my colleague would like to expand on that. It is his line function. Maybe he would like to add something."

At this point, Mr F.W. de Klerk handed over to the South African foreign minister, Roelof Botha, who had come with him to Maputo.

[Botha] "Well, these are [words indistinct] important, I would say [words indistinct] more detailed conversations of the two governments, and I would not like to comment in public on what the two governments think about the (?role we need). There are important matters taking place. We have a role to play which we [words indistinct] with President Chissano, but it is not for me to make known the details."

After this, President Chissano of Mozambique was asked to comment about the 5-year action plan of the National Party in South Africa, which envisages some political change in that country, including some form of political representation and participation of the blacks.

[Chissano] "Actually, that is the only point that we have discussed about the program. Any others, economic programs and so forth, except the part of the program which relates to cooperation for development. But, in terms of the internal situation is the change. We were assured that the policy of the National Party is to work for a greater...[changes thought] for unity of the country whatever form that unity will take, but there will be a unity of the country, and we are pleased to hear that. Wherever, people will be equal, and there will be equal opportunity for every citizen in South Africa. I was pleased to hear that the commitment is to work to achieve this goal as quickly as possible. So, it is not a solution to be dragged indefinitely and especially; there is a commitment that during the mandate of the future president, these problems of discrimination would be solved so that there will be real democracy in South Africa. We are prepared to help this process to be a reality."

[Reporter] "How do you think he might be able to do that?"

[Chissano] "Well, as you know, we are discussing. All the countries in southern Africa are discussing together, and if there is a process, a sound process of change in South Africa, I think that South Africa will be part of that group of countries in search of a solution and there we will have (?a will) at least to create confidence among all the Africans in South Africa. As we said in our talks here, the issue is not only between blacks and nonblacks, but it's the different structures of population in South Africa who must come to a real understanding and pull together to achieve democracy, equality, and work together for development of the country."

After this, it was Mr de Klerk's turn again. This time, he was asked if he would consider the MNR activity in Mozambique as being terrorist:

[De Klerk] "Renamo should, according to our view, stop violence and become involved in the positive and peaceful development of Mozambique."

Then, another journalist asked President Chissano of Mozambique to comment on the prospects for peace in Mozambique itself:

[Chissano] "I have said all what I had to say in the press conference which I gave 2 days ago, and it is all written in detail in the newspaper. If you read this and if translated into English and you have a [words indistinct]."

After this, President Chissano was asked if he could specify the elements in South Africa which were still backing the MNR as he said in his press conference in Maputo on Monday [17 July]

[Chissano] "Well, elements [words indistinct] in South Africa, they are helping Renamo, we are not referring to them because we know their names and where they are. But [words indistinct] from what is happening in our country is connected with South Africa. Well, I may mention that if a plane comes from South Africa, we don't know who is the pilot, we don't know which firm has supplied the plane or sent the plane, but the fact that the plane comes from South Africa is there, recognized by both countries. So, from that, we can say, well, someone in South Africa is doing these things, and both Mozambique and South African Governments should look into it that these things do not happen and no-one should do this. We have been assured once more by Mr de Klerk that now and in the future, they will continue in this line as they have just said now that he would like to see violence come to an end in Mozambique so that we embark upon a cooperation for development. So, this is what we are now set to work for."

President Chissano was then asked if he had any evidence of continued supplies being dropped to the MNR, or Renamo, as the group is known in Portuguese:

[Chissano] "Well, it's very hard to say because the planes don't come every day, don't come every week. For instance, you all are speaking and all of us are speculating

about the plane which was shot at in Gorongosa. I don't know whether it was a [words indistinct] or not, but I know that it has had to crash land and take off again and crash land somewhere else, maybe outside the country. I don't know from where these planes come now. But, there are speculations which are saying the pilot was South African or not, we just discussed it. I have no information, but it's possible that one day [words indistinct] I get the information that the pilot was a South African and then it is up to the government of South Africa to find out why he did this, who is paying them for that, and what not. So, it is very hard to say today that the supplies are finished, are ended. You remember that once I said, when answering questions like this to journalists, I said, well, now there are 3 or 4 months that I don't hear anything about supplies from South Africa, and 1 month later, we had to deal with the "Edda" [FRG ship seized by Mozambique maritime authorities in November 1988] boat, and the pilots, and the aircraft coming, and so forth. So, it's very hard to say, but I may say that I am assured and I accept the assurances by the government of South Africa that the Government of South Africa doesn't want, doesn't [words indistinct]."

Then, Mr de Klerk was asked if any action was being taken or would be taken against the elements in South Africa. Mozambique says it suspects are still backing the MNR:

[De Klerk] "We basically approach the matter from the point of view that, if any particulars can be made available with regard to such actions, then we will look into it. We also do not have an espionage system to know exactly what is going behind the scenes, underneath the table. And, therefore, I can't categorically, nobody can categorically prevent in a country with a free economy such as ours that certain (?deeds), certain actions take place, but if one gets information then obviously, we can work out a strategy as to how to handle it."

Mr Roelof Botha, South Africa's foreign minister, had something more to say on this question:

[Botha] "And, if I may add, Renamo might be getting assistance from other countries as well. There are quite a number of other countries, in the West as well. The point that we want to make is—and President Chissano knows it—I have asked him for information, and, if he supplies the information, we will go into it, we will take the action required in terms of our commitment of the Nkomati Accord."

Then, finally, Mr F.W. de Klerk, the leader of South Africa's ruling National Party, was asked if during his meeting in Maputo today with President Chissano of Mozambique, did the question of Nelson Mandela, the jailed ANC [African National Congress] leader in South

Africa, come up, or was also the meeting between Mandela and the state president of South Africa, P.W. Botha, discussed in the meeting in Maputo.

[De Klerk] "I discussed... [changes thought] it was discussed in general terms, yes, and we had the opportunity to exchange views in that regard."

**Kenyan President arap Moi Arrives 21 Jul**  
*MB2107105589 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese*  
*1030 GMT 21 Jul 89*

[Text] Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi arrived in Maputo this morning. Our correspondent Machado da Graca has further details:

[Graca] President arap Moi, your presence signifies peace in our country. You are welcome! This is your home. This is how a Mozambican woman welcomed President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya on his arrival at Maputo airport.

President Daniel arap Moi was welcomed at the airport by President Joaquim Chissano and members of the party Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers.

The Kenyan president is accompanied by a 58-member delegation which includes Dr R.J. Ouko, foreign and international cooperation minister; K.N.K. Biwott, minister of energy and member of parliament; K. Ngala, minister of tourism; C.M. Oburi, deputy minister of foreign affairs and international cooperation and member of parliament, and J. Muliro, deputy minister of foreign affairs and international cooperation and member of parliament.

According to the agenda, talks between Presidents Joaquim Chissano and Arap Moi will begin at 1500.

The Kenyan leader will be honored with a dinner this evening hosted by his counterpart Joaquim Chissano. He is expected to return to his country tomorrow.

### Namibia

#### UN's Perez de Cuellar Continues Visit

**Told by Pienaar of 20 Jul Releases**  
*MB1907170189 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
*1515 GMT 19 Jul 89*

[Text] Windhoek July 19 SAPA—A total of 24 convicted prisoners are to be freed from jail in Windhoek tomorrow in terms of the United Nations settlement in Namibia, the administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar, said today.

He informed the UN secretary-general, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, of the decision at a working luncheon at SWA [South-West Africa] House this afternoon.

The UN chief in turn gave certain undertakings concerning the return from Angola of former SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization]-held political prisoners, but Mr Pienaar declined at a media briefing to elaborate on the assurances he had been given. He said one awaiting-trial prisoner had already been released.

In terms of an agreement with the UN special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, eight prisoners—four awaiting trial and four convicted—did not qualify for political status.

Among those who will not be released is Leonard Sheehama, presently in a death cell in Pretoria after being sentenced to death five times for bombing a Walvis Bay butcher shop killing five people.

Mr Pienaar said Sheehama still had to stand trial in Windhoek in connection with the bombing of an Oshakati commercial bank in which 28 people had died.

Another prisoner who will not be released is Paulus Andreas, convicted for bombing a multi-storeyed parking garage in Windhoek.

"It has been agreed that their actions were disproportionate to their political motives," Mr Pienaar said.

"I have impressed on the (UN) secretary-general the need for the release of the others and he gave me certain undertakings."

Mr Perez de Cuellar will be meeting Mr Pienaar again on Friday [21 July] after Mr Perez de Cuellar's visit to northern Namibia tomorrow.

The UN chief executive official is on a brief visit to Namibia to assess progress in the UN decolonisation process of the country.

"I want to resolve some problems, among them that of the police, and guarantee that they do not interfere with the process," Mr Perez de Cuellar told reporters in Lisbon before he travelled to Windhoek.

The UN has complained that police units are intimidating people in northern Namibia.

Mr Pienaar said today: "There is a general perception that police commit atrocities, intimidation and other crimes."

Reference was often made to 270 complaints against police, military and civilians compiled by the UN mission in Namibia.

Mr Pienaar said 73 per cent of the complaints had already been fully investigated and 61 per cent of the investigated complaints were completely without substance. Of the complaints against the SWA Police, 81 per cent had been unfounded and the remainder were being processed for prosecution.

Mr Pienaar said that after the armed incursion of SWAPO fighters on April 1, he had reactivated 2,138 policemen from various districts to mount a counter-insurgency operation. They had since been reintegrated once more in the ordinary police force and redeployed from northern Namibia.

Mr Pienaar said he was not satisfied that all armed SWAPO guerrillas were confined to bases north of the 16th latitude in Angola.

If the threat they posed to the security of Namibia and the continued implementation of the UN peace process could be reduced, he would consider redeploying farther southwards the former police counter-insurgency members (generally known as Koevoet).

Mr Pienaar said all policemen in northern Namibia were now wearing name plates for identification, while only 60 police armoured Casspir vehicles were still in commission. The 60 Casspits were being used for border patrols in areas where there could still be landmines.

"I have also asked UNTAG (UN Transitional Assistance Group) to send UN police monitors along with each and every SWA Police patrol," Mr Pienaar said.

**Arrives at Ondangwa for Inspection**  
*MB2007101089 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
*0940 GMT 20 Jul 89*

[Text] Ondongwa, Namibia, July 20 SAPA—The United Nations secretary-general, Dr Perez de Cuellar, arrived at Ondangwa in northern Namibia this morning for first hand inspection of the situation in the area.

He is meeting senior UN civilian and police personnel as well as the UN High Commission for Refugees to discuss problems.

A UN spokesman, Mr Fred Eckhard, said they were discussing the situation in the north where "policing and law and order questions in the area seem to be the principle cause of concern."

Mr Perez de Cuellar and his special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, were met at the airport by the leader of the UN staff in the north and the head of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia, Bishop Kleopas Dumoni, with whom they will be lunching later.

The routes from the airport were lined in places with demonstrators calling for the removal of Koevoet the police counter insurgency unit, which is expected to be one of the topics on today's agenda.

**Sees 'Good Faith' on Elections**  
*MB2007161189 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
*1550 GMT 20 Jul 89*

[Text] Oshakati July 20 SAPA—The United Nations secretary-general, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, is more confident about the situation in Namibia and optimistic free and fair independence elections will be held in the country in November.

"I think that after my visit I will be much more confident that the election will be free," he said at Oshakati in northern Namibia today.

Mr Perez de Cuellar, accompanied by the UN special representative in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, and senior UN officials, visited the Ovambo region to gather first hand information following reports from many quarters of serious complaints of intimidation and partiality in the run-up to the the UN-sponsored independence election.

The issue of the former SWA Police counter-insurgency unit, known as Koevoet, against which many allegations of intimidation had been made, was "a matter of impartiality and non-intimidation.

The issue of the former SWA Police counter-insurgency unit, known as Koevoet, against which many allegations of intimidation had been made, was "a matter of concern", Mr Perez de Cuellar said, stressing the importance of impartiality and non-intimidation.

The issue was among those discussed with senior UN civilian, police and military personnel at a meeting in Oshakati this morning.

"Impartiality," Mr Perez de Cuellar said, "depends on all of us, not only the South Africans and the United Nations."

As Namibians were about to establish a democratic government, he said "democracy means respect of the feelings and thinking" of all.

Intimidation too was an important issue, because with it "there are no free elections."

Asked if conditions without intimidation and impartiality were possible, Mr Perez de Cuellar said "I think so, I think there is a lot of good faith around."

Commenting on the release today of 24 political prisoners by South Africa's administrator general, Mr Louis Pienaar, Mr Perez de Cuellar said the UN considered the statement yesterday on the pending freeing as very important and was considering it "with great care".

"That is our objective and impartiality is the keyword," Mr Perez de Cuellar said.

Thousands of singing and dancing SWAPO supporters waving placards welcoming the UN visitors and calling for the removal of Koevoet members from the SWA Police lined the road in places between Oshakati and Ondangua.

The SWA Police and UN security officials mounted strict security throughout the day.

The UN chief executive and his party met first with senior UN staff and visited a voter registration point near Oshakati before travelling to the nearby Ongwediva reception centres for returnees being repatriated by the UN High Commission for Refugees.

Mr Perez de Cuellar's party then met with local church and political leaders at the human rights centre at Ongwediva and were due to have lunch with the prominent Ovambo churchman and leader of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia, Bishop Kleopas Dumeni, at Oniipa before returning to Windhoek later this afternoon.

The UN chief and his party are due to leave for South Africa tomorrow afternoon after addressing a press conference in Windhoek.

**Meets Press on 'Frank' Pienaar Talks**  
**MB2107125689 Johannesburg SAPA in English**  
**1210 GMT 21 Jul 89**

[Text] Windhoek July 21 SAPA—The United Nations secretary general, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, left Windhoek for Pretoria this afternoon where he is expected to discuss with South African Government officials two points of disagreement between himself and the administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar.

He told a media briefing at the end of a three day trip to Namibia that he had had businesslike discussions "in a very frank manner" with Mr Pienaar on a series of questions, "pleasant and unpleasant", but was also confident that if nothing happened to undermine "the very favourable situation" in the country, elections would take place on November 6.

Mr Perez de Cuellar said he would continue, through his special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari, discussions with Mr Pienaar on the presence of Koevoet (former

counter insurgency unit) members in the SWA [South-West African] Police as well as the legislation promulgated to install second tier ethnic authorities.

Asked if he wanted the complete removal of Koevoet members and the removal of proclamation AG 8 under which second tier governments were established, Mr Perez de Cuellar said: "That is my wish."

**Cancels Somalia Trip; To Visit Zambia**  
**MB2107124389 Johannesburg International Service**  
**in English 1115 GMT 21 Jul 89**

[From the "Africa South" program]

[Text] The UN secretary general, Dr Perez de Cuellar, today, spending the last day of his visit to Namibia before he goes to Pretoria, has decided to cancel his visit to Somalia, which he was due to make this weekend. Michael Kallenbach sent this report:

[Begin Kallenbach recording] The announcement was unexpected, and it came from the UN spokesman in New York, who claimed that the secretary general had decided to change his travel plans this coming weekend and will not be going to Somalia as planned. The spokesman gave no reason for the decision and simply said that, instead, Mr Perez de Cuellar and his party would spend the weekend in Zambia as guests of President Kenneth Kaunda, who is leader of the Frontline African States.

Asked why there was a need to visit President Kaunda when the two will meet early next week in Addis Ababa at the start of the OAU summit meeting, the reply was simply that the UN leader felt he wanted to brief Mr Kaunda on the progress so far in his Namibian negotiations. One reporter even wanted to assume that things were not going well, but no, said the spokesman, one should not assume that. Mr Perez de Cuellar had originally accepted an invitation to visit Somalia this weekend and would have flown there from Pretoria late on Friday [21 July] afternoon.

Instead, the private plane carrying him and other senior UN officials will depart for Lusaka. The UN team leaves Windhoek at lunchtime on Friday and heads for Pretoria for a high-level meeting with South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha. Meanwhile, senior diplomats and UN officials confirmed privately last night that Mr Perez de Cuellar had been advised not to visit Somalia at this time because of last week's violent riots in which at least 23 people died. The riots were between Islamic fundamentalists and government forces and resulted in the imposition of a dusk-to-dawn curfew. On Wednesday this week [19 July] the government ordered soldiers to suspend patrols of Mogadishu, which they had been making since last Friday [14 July]. Somalia has blamed the riots on bandits using religion as an excuse to make trouble. So, whatever the reason for this trip, at least Mr Perez de Cuellar will stay away from Somalia. [end recording]

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